EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
THE WEEK IN REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

Monday, March 21, 1983

# THE JERUSALEM POST

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### Liberals threaten to vote against IS2,000 travel tax

## Travellers to pay for coalition accord

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Israelis who travel abroad, beginning on April 1, will be taxed IS2,000 (about $50) to help pay additional allowances to large families.

Yesterday's decision to introduce the travel tax was taken by the Ministerial Economic Committee after the cabinet approved a proposed IS3 billion addition to the 1983-1984 fiscal budget to finance its obligations under the coalition agreement.

The travel tax, along with the large families assistance law, must be approved by the Knesset this week.

Several Liberal MKs yesterday denounced the reintroduction of a travel tax and said they will consider voting against the measure, which they maintained is against their party's principles.

The coalition partners decided last week to implement the large families assistance law, as demanded by the Tami Party, with an estimated cost of IS2b. and to add IS1b. to funds going to the schools and yeshivot of Agudat Yisrael and the National Religious Party.

The cabinet yesterday approved this agreement, under which large families will receive from April 1 an additional child allowance, of IS821 for every child beginning with the fourth child. Some 75,000 families will benefit from this increase.

The cabinet decided to cut some IS1b. from the budgets of civilian ministries to finance the funds for the NRP and Aguda and asked the Ministerial Economic Committee to find ways of financing the large families law.

After rejecting a proposal by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor to tax the allowances given to the first two children of every family, the committee adopted a resolution to impose a IS2,000 tax on every Israeli leaving the country. The tax is to be adjusted monthly according to the devaluation of the shekel.

In addition, the committee decided to introduce gradually the large-families law, delaying some aspects until July and April, 1984. This delay is meant to save the Treasury about IS400m.

The committee also decided that child allowances will stop automatically when a child reaches age 18. At present a few months pass between the 18th birthday and the stoppage of the allowance. It is expected that some IS600m. will be saved this way.

The Treasury was busy last night in a race against the clock to prepare the travel tax and the large-families laws, which have to reach the Knesset Finance Committee today.

The Treasury insisted yesterday that the travel tax be imposed across the board without any exemptions. Decisions on how the tax will be collected will be announced today or tomorrow.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

### Cabinet and inner panel discuss proposals

## 'Sobered optimism' over U.S. plan for Lebanon

By DAVID LANDAU
and ASHER WALLFISH

After a long day of consultations and negotiations over Lebanon yesterday, officials in Jerusalem spoke of "progress" and "a degree of satisfaction." But, they cautioned there was still "a great deal more work to be done."

The buoyant optimism that attended Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's return from Washington a week ago seems to have given way to a more sober assessment of the time and effort that will be required to conclude an agreement.

Some high-level policymakers asserted that there had been a distinct hardening of the American position. The American "new ideas" submitted to Shamir in Washington early last week had become tougher in certain respects when they were subsequently committed to paper and conveyed to Israel by Ambassador Samuel Lewis last Thursday, according to these policymakers.

The policymakers purported to detect the work of special envoy Philip Habib in this toughening process. They felt that Secretary of State George Shultz, with whom Shamir had conducted his talks in Washington, was more sympathetic to Israeli security concerns in South Lebanon than Habib.

The policymakers said that this discrepancy between Shamir's report of his talks and the subsequent American document had confused and worried ministers during yesterday's consultations. After a cursory review of the situation at the morning cabinet meeting, a more thorough discussion was held by a smaller ministerial group, chaired by Premier Menachem Begin, in the afternoon.

Following this, yesterday evening, Shamir and Defence Minister Moshe Arens met Habib and his assistant, Morris Draper, for more than two hours at the Foreign Ministry. Israeli officials said there had been a detailed exchange of "proposals, counter-proposals, and counter-counter-proposals," mainly on the issues of security. The issues of "mutual relations" between Israel and Lebanon were touched on more briefly.

Israeli officials termed last night's session a "bridge" between the Shultz-Shamir talks in Washington, and the Israel-Lebanon-U.S. talks to be resumed at Netanya this morning.

They said it was of key importance that the "principle of cooperation between the Israel Defence Forces and the Lebanese Army" had been agreed upon, but a lot of negotiating and drafting would still be needed to translate the principle into practise.

They conceded that on the issues of Major Haddad's role and UNIFIL's role in South Lebanon the American and Israeli positions were still divided.

Habib is to go to Beirut today, while Draper attends the talks in Netanya.

Israeli ministers expect to be briefed in detail on yesterday's talks with Habib and on the up-to-date status of the various U.S. proposals before the cabinet takes a definite stand.

The cabinet will have to reverse its earlier insistence on IDF-manned military posts inside South Lebanon. Some of the ministers are reportedly reluctant to support this climb-down, but the majority feeling is said to be that Israel will have to forgo these posts and make do with close IDF-Lebanese cooperation to protect the border zone.

*Asher Wallfish adds:*

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told the cabinet yesterday that the U.S. had presented Israel with new compromise proposals to close the gap between the Israeli and Lebanese positions in the negotiations. But he did not tell his colleagues what the American proposals are, a fact which angered some of them. Shamir was reporting on his talks in Washington last week.

Shamir explained his refusal to give details by saying that the Americans were concerned lest the nature of the proposals be leaked after the cabinet session, which could impede the negotiations. Prime Minister Menachem Begin said that he sympathised with the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## EC finance ministers fail to align currencies

BRUSSELS (AP). — Efforts to realign eight European Community currencies — under pressure of a weak French franc and a strong West German mark — failed yesterday after two days of intense negotiations. A new attempt is to be made today.

The situation is unprecendented in the four-year history of the European Monetary System, created to inject monetary stability in the EC.

EC finance ministers had realigned the EMS on six previous occasions during weekends, when foreign-exchange markets are closed. Yesterday, however, no agreement was reported and the ministers in effect temporarily suspended the EMS.

Until they have an agreement, they decided to let the eight EMS currencies float against each other without central-bank control when foreign-exchange markets open today.

All EC currencies except the British pound and the Greek drachma are in the EMS.

The weekend talks, diplomatic sources said, focussed on a possible devaluation of the French franc by between 2 and 2.5 per cent and revaluation of the German mark of up to 5.5 per cent.

The value of the U.S. dollar, though not part of the EMS, would undoubtedly change, but the amounts will not be clear until the realignment has been completed.

Italian Treasury Minister Giovanni Goria hinted in Rome last night that the Italian lira would be devalued as part of an EMS currency realignment.

The Netherlands, said one official, "reluctantly" agreed to upgrade the guilder slightly.

Complicating the marathon talks here was French Finance Minister Jacques Delors's repeated threat to pull France out of the EMS altogether if there is no realignment agreement.



French Finance Minister Jacques Delors is surrounded by reporters as he leaves the meeting of EEC finance ministers in Brussels yesterday. (UPI telephoto)

## EC is facing a real crisis

By MEIR MERHAV
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BONN. — This past weekend's meeting in Brussels of the eight finance ministers representing the European Monetary System (of the 10 EC members, Britain and Greece do not belong to it) was no ordinary wrangle over a further devaluation of the French franc to be achieved by, and presented as, a revaluation of the West German mark. It signifies a real crisis in the European Community.

No wonder, therefore, that the talks had to be interrupted after the French rejected a proposal to revalue the mark by 5.5 per cent, while the French franc was to be devalued by 2.5 per cent. Until an agreement is reached, the European money markets will remain closed.

The seriousness of the crisis is indicated by the fact that the Brussels talks were convened in a rush by Federal German Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, even while the coalition talks in Germany were still going on and a new cabinet had not yet been formed.

Equally, in France, Foreign Trade Minister Michel Jobert had resigned and Economics and Finance Minister Jacques Delors was recalled to Paris for an urgent cabinet meeting. Apparently, a reshuffling of the French government is imminent, in which Jobert would replace Pierre Mauroy as premier.

The root of the crisis is that since the election of Francois Mitterrand, France has embarked on an economic policy widely different from that of its main trading partner, the German Federal Republic, and incompatible with the rigidities imposed by the EMS. That system, devised four years ago by Helmut Schmidt and Valery Giscard d'Estaing, was predicated on the pulling together of both countries on broadly similar disinflationary economic policies.

For political reasons, the French are unwilling to devalue the franc still further. They therefore demand that the Germans prove their loyalty to the EMS by revaluating the deutschmark.

## Doctors' strike talks resume this afternoon

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Talks between the Treasury and the Israel Medical Association (IMA) will be resumed this afternoon in Jerusalem, after the cabinet decided yesterday that "dialogue with the doctors" must be maintained in order to bring the 20-day-old strike to an end.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin asked Finance Minister Yoram Aridor to break the deadlock that has paralyzed the talks since last Wednesday. Aridor apparently acceded to this request after it became clear that the entire cabinet agreed that something must be done to get the talks moving again.

Aridor, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, their directors-general and the striking doctors will meet to try to settle the issue of the experts' committee proposed by Aridor last Wednesday.

The committee, as envisaged by the Treasury, would include representatives from both sides who would discuss the doctors' salary structure and other areas of disagreement and make recommendations.

But the doctors have insisted that the committee's "terms of reference and authority" be defined in advance; and also that a time limit be set on its deliberations.

The IMA refused throughout the weekend to renew the talks without the participation of Aridor and Shostak, asserting that the absence of ministers would be a "step backwards."

At yesterday's cabinet meeting, Shostak attacked Aridor for his "rigidity." "There will be no solution if nobody talks to the doctors and if this rift is allowed to persist. The Treasury should display more delicacy and wisdom in its approach and stop giving the impression of being harsh and unyielding," Shostak said.

"The Treasury's approach to the problem is wrong," the health minister said.

Aridor replied: "I have to make it clear to them that we are not going to exceed the 22 per cent limit set

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## U.S. Marines take another swipe at IDF

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Israel Defence Forces spokesman yesterday brushed off criticism by the U.S. Marine commander in the Beirut area, saying only that the Marines have been putting out information that has "no basis."

The spokesman, asked to comment on criticism voiced by Colonel James Mead, the Marine commander, in an interview with the Associated Press, said that "lately the Marines are publishing data that have no basis in the area."

Military sources also rejected an allegation by Lebanese officials that civilians have been killed as Israeli forces fire along a roadside to flush out ambushers. The sources said the allegation was old, and it had been denied weeks ago.

Israeli officers say the shooting is directed into unpopulated areas, and that it is required by the dangerous situation along the old Sidon road where Israeli convoys have been ambushed in the past.

Mead said yesterday that Israeli convoys and patrols on the old Sidon road, on the edge of the Marine area at the international airport, engaged in what he called "reconnaissance by fire — indiscriminate firing into areas along the road to discourage ambushes." He said this was apparently one of the reasons the Israelis were trying to keep the Marines from patrolling the area.

The commandant of the Marine Corps, General Robert Barrow, recently wrote to U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger to complain of Israeli "provocation" of the Marines, "complete with verbal degradation of the officers, their uniform and country."

Mean said in one recent incident Israelis stopped a Marine patrol from returning to its own area, and when the Marines chose to avoid a confrontation, "the Israeli soldiers, bravely from on top of tanks, said 'Americans go around' and many other words not printable, at least in our press."

Israeli forces were refused permission yesterday to patrol an area on the edge of Beirut controlled by U.S. and Lebanese troops, a U.S. Marine spokesman said yesterday.

Asked about the incident, a spokesman at the Israeli press centre in Yarze said there was "no record of such a thing. There is no such incident."

Major William Grein said Israelis in two jeeps asked Lebanese soldiers at a joint Lebanese-U.S. checkpoint for permission to send a patrol of tanks and armoured troop carriers into a nearby area which he said had been previously agreed to be out of bounds to Israelis.

Grein said the Lebanese refused the request and the Israelis left without further incident. Marines on duty at the checkpoint did not take part in the discussion, he added.

## Army drafts diplomat to thwart FM labour sanctions

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

A Foreign Ministry official who, on orders of the ministry staff committee, declined to attend a meeting with defence officials in Tel Aviv on Friday was called into the reserves for the day and forced to attend the meeting in his capacity as a reservist soldier.

Staff committee chairman Ze'ev Suffot told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the committee is consulting with its lawyers as to the legality of the Israel Defence Forces' action.

Histadrut trade union chief Yisrael Kessar said he would contact the parties concerned this morning and would "respond appropriately."

Foreign Ministry staffers are not making official trips out of Jerusalem, nor travelling abroad, as part of their sanctions in support of the demand that their pay and conditions be equalized with those of the defence establishment.

The official, Neville Lamdan, deputy director of the Egypt department, was also due to fly to Rome today as a delegate to Israel-Egypt-U.S. talks on the budget and administration of the multinational force and observers (MFO) in Sinai.

He has again been instructed by the staff committee not to go — and this time the IDF has decided not to call him up for the purpose.

The head of the Israeli delegation to the talks, Tat-Aluf (Brigadier-General) Dov Sion, told *The Post* that legally Lamdan could have been called up for the Rome Mission, too, but it had been decided to do without him.

It was Sion, head of liaison with Egypt and with the MFO, who was responsible for the one-day call-up of Lamdan on Friday. Lamdan serves with the IDF spokesman's unit, which, like Sion's bureau, is part of the Intelligence Corps.

Sion told *The Post* last night that it was essential for Lamdan to present the Foreign Ministry viewpoint at the Friday meeting, which was in preparation for the talks in Rome this week. He did not explain why he and the other defence officials could not have come to Jerusalem to meet with Lamdan, given that Lamdan was barred by his union from going to Tel Aviv.

The staff committee, meanwhile, apparently feeling that its sanctions have been ineffective, is contemplating a total three-day strike soon after Pessah.

As a final escalatory step before that walkout, the committee is to decide today whether to order staffers at home and abroad to refrain forthwith from handling any classified material. Committee sources say that doing so would virtually paralyze Foreign Ministry communications.

## Amendment would clear anti-pollution laws

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A major effort to clear the air surrounding Israel's anti-pollution laws has been launched by the Interior Ministry. It comes in the form of an amendment to the Nuisance Prevention Law of 1961, commonly known as the "Kanowitz Law" (after the late Knesset Member Shimon Kanowitz, who piloted the bill through the Knesset.)

"Our proposed amendment is so sweeping that it is virtually a new law," Yitzhak Agassi, aide to Interior Minister Yosef Burg, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. "Things have changed in 22 years. There is much more pollution here and, besides, the Knesset voted last May that enforcement of the Kanowitz Law be put into our hands. The fight against pollution is no longer a joint venture of the Health and Interior Ministries."

The law prohibits "creation of unbearable noise, generation of strong odours or defilement of the atmosphere by and from any source whatsoever if these nuisances offend, or might offend, human beings in the immediate area, or passersby."

At the Interior Ministry, it is felt that such wording is so unspecific as to make prosecution of violators nearly impossible. "It's all a bit too subjective," a ministry source said. "What is offensive to one passerby is quite bearable and acceptable to the next one. While a law cannot anticipate each and every situation likely to arise, it must include a certain amount of qualifying conditions, rather than leave all of that to executive orders and regulations to be gazetted from time to time."

Accordingly, the amendment removes the terms "strong" and "unbearable" as qualifying definitions of offending factors.

The amendment calls for establishment of an authorized unit of ecology experts to set down "ambient quality standards" for various surroundings and "emission standards" for various energy combustion facilities as industrial plants and motor vehicles.

Any deviation from the standards set by the authority would be considered a violation of the law.

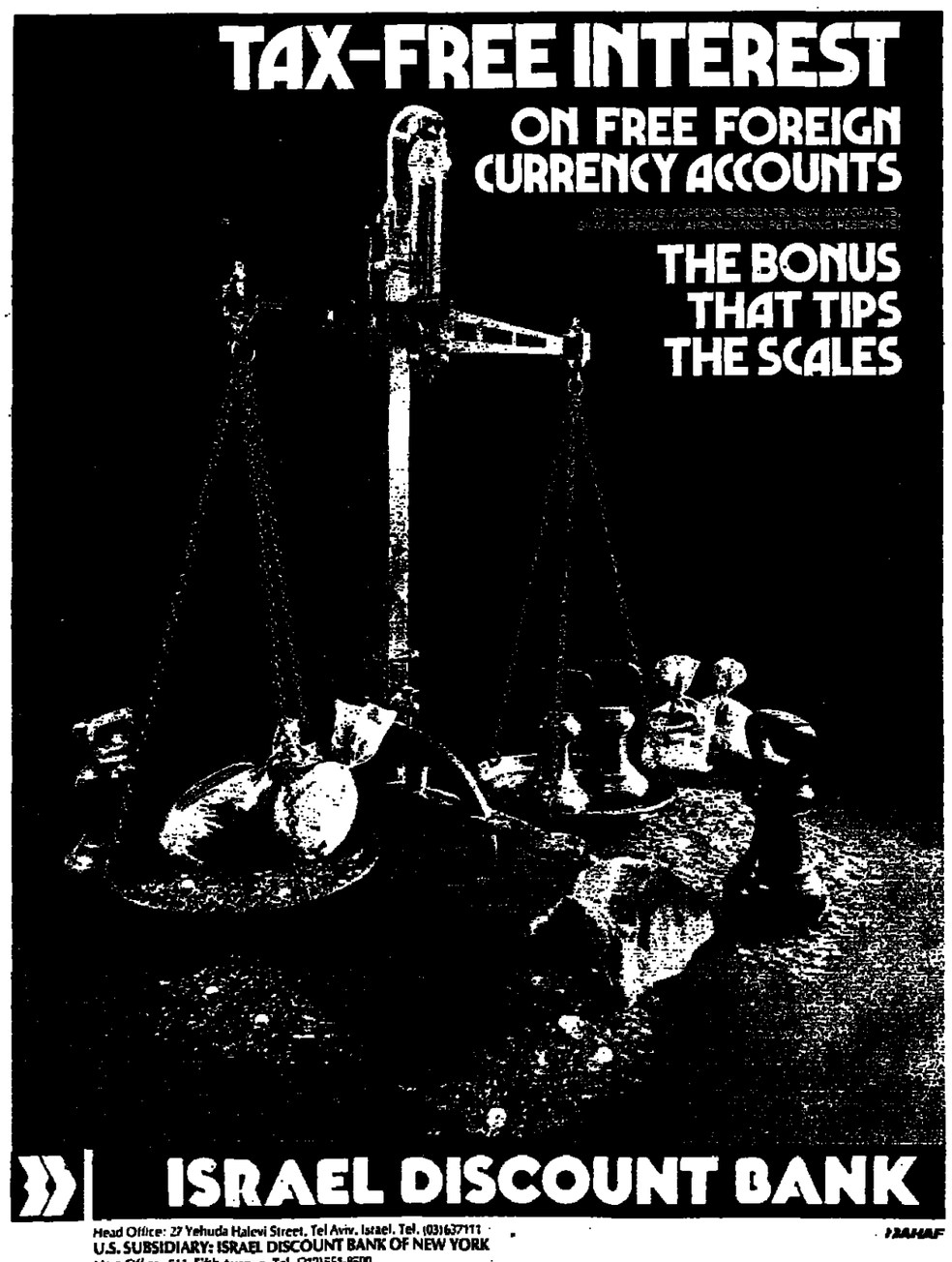
Another change would take away from local authorities the power to circumvent the law by enacting by-laws "in consideration of special local conditions."

Under the existing law and this loophole, a factory can get away with heavy pollution if its closure might put many local people out of work. Under the amendment, a local authority may enact only regulations making the law stiffer, not easing it.

The amendment offers this innovation: the violator, besides being subjected to criminal penalties if convicted, would be open to civil suit by any citizen who feels injured by the nuisance.

"We believe this fresh approach to pollution control can be handled by our existing staff," the Interior Ministry's legal adviser said. "But to ensure its successful implementation, we suggest additional workers and some budgetary accommodation."

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| | MIN. C | MIN. F | MAX. C | MAX. F | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AMSTERDAM | 5 | 41 | 10 | 50 | Cloudy |
| BRUSSELS | 5 | 41 | 12 | 54 | Cloudy |
| BUENOS AIRES | 9 | 48 | 23 | 73 | Clear |
| CHICAGO | 0 | 32 | 2 | 36 | Clear |
| COPENHAGEN | 3 | 37 | 6 | 43 | Cloudy |
| FRANKFURT | 8 | 46 | 13 | 55 | Rain |
| GENEVA | 5 | 41 | 16 | 59 | Clear |
| HELSINKI | -1 | 30 | 2 | 36 | Clear |
| HONG KONG | 17 | 63 | 18 | 64 | Rain |
| JOHANNESBURG | 13 | 55 | 23 | 73 | Clear |
| LISBON | 12 | 54 | 24 | 75 | Rain |
| LONDON | 8 | 46 | 11 | 52 | Cloudy |
| MADRID | 5 | 41 | 23 | 73 | Cloudy |
| MONTREAL | 4 | 39 | 7 | 45 | Rain |
| NEW YORK | 8 | 46 | 13 | 56 | Cloudy |
| OSLO | 1 | 30 | 7 | 45 | Cloudy |
| PARIS | 10 | 50 | 14 | 57 | Cloudy |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 25 | 77 | 38 | 100 | Clear |
| SAO PAULO | 21 | 70 | 30 | 86 | Cloudy |
| STOCKHOLM | 1 | 34 | 5 | 41 | Clear |
| TOKYO | 4 | 39 | 14 | 57 | Clear |
| TORONTO | 6 | 43 | 8 | 45 | Rain |
| VIENNA | 10 | 50 | 15 | 59 | Cloudy |
| ZURICH | 5 | 41 | 18 | 59 | Clear |

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cloudy to partly cloudy.

| | Yesterday's Humidity | Yesterday's Min-Max | Today's Max |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jerusalem | 42 | 8—14 | 12 |
| Golan | 41 | 10—16 | 14 |
| Nahariya | 56 | 11—20 | 18 |
| Galilee | 50 | 9—13 | 10 |
| Haifa Port | 72 | 15—18 | 17 |
| Tiberias | 36 | 11—22 | 20 |
| Nazareth | — | 11—14 | 13 |
| Afula | 52 | 9—19 | 18 |
| Shomron | 42 | 11—16 | 15 |
| Tel-Aviv | 52 | 12—20 | 18 |
| Ben-Gurion Airport | 45 | 8—20 | 18 |
| Jericho | 25 | 10—24 | 22 |
| Gaza | 55 | 13—19 | 17 |
| Beersheba | 32 | 10—19 | 18 |
| Eilat | 15 | 15—26 | 25 |

# 2 a.m. parking fine raid on Sylva Zalmanson

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter



Sylva Zalmanson

Former Prisoner of Zion Sylva Zalmanson alleges that the police "nearly broke down the door" of her Rishon Lezion apartment at 2 a.m. in order to collect a IS300 parking fine.

She and her neighbour, David Babai, said one of the policemen smelled as if he had been drinking heavily.

Zalmanson said the raid last Thursday morning reminded her of Stalin's police.

Assistant Commander Shimon Savir of the Tel Aviv Police told *The Jerusalem Post* that he resented the comparison with the Soviet police. He said it was impossible to say someone "smelled of alcohol" and promised to give the police's version of the incident today. In general, he said, the police are under court pressure to collect money owed and raids are carried out only after warnings and court orders are ignored.

Zalmanson, 38, who came to Israel in 1974, spent four years in a Soviet jail for participating in the 1970 Leningrad plot to hijack an aircraft to Israel.

She said she had returned from the conference on Soviet Jewry in Jerusalem a few hours earlier, and when the doorbell rang she thought the callers were the parents of her babysitter.

"I opened the door, saw two men and smellsd alcohol," she said last night.

"They said I had to pay a IS300 fine for illegal parking."

"I was sure they were criminals. It seemed absurd that they come to collect a fine at that time."

Zalmanson said she closed the door hurriedly and the two "tried to break it open. The door nearly caved in.

**"They shouted 'We'll break the door.' I thought my end was near. I considered throwing my daughter across the porch to neighbours. I could have risked my life and my daughter's life — just not to fall into criminals' hands."**

The noise awakened Babai who walked down in his pajamas. Babai said one man was in uniform but wore a blue windbreaker over it so it was difficult to identify him as a policeman. The other was in civilian dress.

He said the two claimed they had a warrant for Zalmanson's arrest for failing to pay the fine.

When the policemen refused to wait for morning, Babai called their headquarters and asked for the duty officer, but the man to whom he was referred slammed down the phone.

The two men at Zalmanson's door relented only after Babai threatened to call contacts he has in the police force through his burglar-alarm company.

He calmed Zalmanson, who was holding her crying three-year-old baby. He then phoned the police and said the men could return. They did — at 3 a.m. — and collected the fine.

Zalmanson told *The Post* that she had paid several fines at once and forgot about the IS300 ticket.

## DOCTORS

(Continued from Page One)

down by the collective wage agreement. I must tell them the truth about this."

"We haven't yet reached a world of truth," Shostak answered.

Also at the cabinet meeting, Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i criticized the recent spate of income-tax raids on senior doctors. "This practice is unacceptable," he said.

The Treasury said yesterday that it has no intention of calling off its investigations of alleged tax evasion by certain doctors, as requested on Friday by Shostak.

"It takes anywhere from two to six months to gather the material for an investigation. When a file is complete, we call in the person in question. We have been preparing these files for a long while and obviously they have no connection with the strike," Treasury spokesman David Bar-Haim told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

The spokesman refused to say how many doctors are under investigation. "The Income Tax Commission has been conducting investigations for years and has never revealed the number of files or the names of those being investigated. That tactic is the invention of the IMA."

The IMA announced yesterday that the Histadrut's sick fund's district doctors and their deputies will be exempted from the strike, so that they can sign prescriptions. The fund's clinics have refused to fill prescriptions issued by striking doctors in their 275 alternative medical centres throughout the country.

The IMA also stressed yesterday that it has "no desire whatsoever to harm the sick fund in any way."

"Attempts have been made to link the strike with politics in order to create dissension among the various groups of doctors. Objectively, it may appear that the Kupat Holim clinics (which have been shut down for two weeks) are suffering more than the hospitals (which have been staffed by about 30 per cent of their usual doctors for 10 days).

"But this decision (to let the hospitals return to work in exchange for lifting the back-to-work orders) was taken to insure adequate treatment in emergency cases," the IMA said.

At Hadassah Hospital in Ein Kerem, Jerusalem, a 39-year-old woman yesterday contended that she had had a miscarriage in the fourth month of her pregnancy because of the doctors' strike. The woman said that she had been denied a cervical suture (a procedure that involves stiches around the entrance to the womb) because it was not "an emergency" and that she had subsequently lost her baby.

Dr. Shamai Cotev, the head of the hospital's doctors, committee, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the woman had not had a "referral from her doctor for hospitalization." He said that such procedures had been performed routinely at Hadassah throughout the strike and that the woman would have been treated had she presented a referral.

The Health Ministry has set up a committee to investigate the incident, the spokeswoman said last night.



Chief of Staff-designate Aluf Moshe Levi arrives at the Prime Minister's Office yesterday for a meeting on security matters. (Rahamim Israeli)

# Close result seen in Knesset vote for president tomorrow

Jerusalem Post Staff

Political sources are predicting an extremely close vote in the secret ballot in the Knesset tomorrow to elect a president to succeed President Yitzhak Navon. The Knesset has to choose between the coalition candidate, Supreme Court Justice Menahem Elon, and the Alignment candidate, Knesset Member Chaim Herzog.

It was learned late last night that at least two coalition MKs were considering voting for Herzog.

The Alignment is pinning its hopes on the secret ballot, which, it is felt, could encourage defections from the coalition ranks.

The Alignment, however, is pinning its hopes on the secret ballot, which, it is felt, could encourage defections from the coalition ranks.

If the entire opposition votes for Herzog, he will need five coalition votes for an absolute majority. The coalition has 64 votes on paper.

The feeling in the coalition is that most of its components will vote for Elon in order to avert any shakeups. Sources in the Likud and circles close to Prime Minister Menachem Begin have been warning of "far-reaching consequences in the event of a coalition defeat." They say that Begin will consider a defeat "a grave personal affront."

Tami, the only party to say it has not decided whom to support, has given its members freedom of vote. But coalition sources say Tami is placated now that it has secured increased aid for large families. The coalition thinks that at worst, Tami's Labour and Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzan may vote for Herzog.

The Alignment is counting on winning Tami support because Herzog's son is married to the daughter of millionaire Nessim Gaon, Tami's financial patron. Labour also believes that it can secure "a few more" coalition votes. The new president will assume office early in May.

# Arafat's deputy says he's ready to address Knesset

By YIGAL BICHKOV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's deputy recently told Israeli peace activists that he is prepared to come to Israel and address the Knesset about "the need for two states in Palestine."

Salah Khalaf, known as Abu Iyad, met the Israelis from the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East, when they visited Budapest earlier this month.

A member of the Israeli delegation — which included *Davar* editor Hanna Zemer, Peace Now leader Mordechai Bar-On, former Sheli Knesset Member Walid Yihya, and three others — said yesterday they had been surprised to see Khalaf sitting opposite them at dinner. But their hosts, the Hungarian Peace Movement, urged them to stay.

According to the Israeli delegation member, Khalaf told them that he remembered playing with Jewish children when he was a child in Tel Aviv's Carmel Market, where his father was a trader.

He asked them what they thought of the chances for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The Israelis replied that they saw him as an enemy and that this was a meeting between enemies.

Zemer told Khalaf there could be no peace until the PLO cancelled parts of its Palestine Covenant and forsook terrorism.

Khalaf replied that recent Arab summits had agreed that all states in the Middle East should be recognized, including Israel. He added that the Arabs had not rejected U.S. President Ronald Reagan's Middle East peace plan.

He said that if something dramatic was needed, he was prepared to come to the Knesset "as (the late Egyptian President Anwar) Sadat did" to emphasize his position that there needed to be two states in Palestine. He said he was ready to talk with all Israelis.

Khalaf added that he had recently met Israeli PoW's in Palestinian hands, including two held by Ahmed Jibril's splinter group, and he said they would all be returned to Israel.

## 'Irregularities' put off NRP elections

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The National Religious Party's internal elections, scheduled for April 26, have been postponed and a new date will be set soon.

The immediate reasons for the postponement were irregularities in the voters' register and the enrolment of new members.

The election battle is mainly between the Lamifne faction headed by Interior Minister Yosef Burg and the Renewal faction headed by Education and Culture Minister Zevulun Hammer.

The Likud Utmura faction headed by former religious affairs minister Yitzhak Raphael and former Knesset member David Glass also faces its first test since coming back to the NRP arena.

## KLM finds way out of Israel-Arab dispute

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — KLM tickets will no longer list the Dutch airline's offices anywhere in the world, so as to avoid an aspect of the Israel-Arab dispute.

The carrier had stopped listing Tel Aviv on tickets after passengers were harassed in Dubai, according to the company's senior representative in Israel, Andre Oostdam. But this solution was criticized here because it was seen as submission to the Arab boycott.

Oostdam was called to the office of the Civil Aviation Administrator Shai Shohami on orders of Transport Minister Haim Corfu.

## IDF to probe officer's Beirut visit

SOUTHERN LEBANON (Itim). — OC Northern Command Aluf Amir Drori yesterday appointed a senior officer to investigate the circumstance surrounding the entry of reserve brigadier-general Binyamin Arad into southern Lebanon as far as Beirut without the appropriate Israel Defence Forces permits.

Tat-Aluf Arad was detained last Wednesday by Lebanese soldiers in the Ouzai district of southern Beirut. The Lebanese troops were at the time engaged in large-scale searches for terrorists who had thrown a hand grenade at a patrol of U.S. Marines.

Arad, arrested in a Lebanese car, was taken to the Lebanese Defence Ministry compound at Ba'abde. He eventually told his interrogators he is Israeli and was released after the intercession of the IDF liaison office in Beirut.

## U.S. legislators urge Beirut to complete probe

WASHINGTON (JTA). — Twenty-nine congressmen have urged Lebanese President Amin Jemayel to complete Lebanon's investigation into last September's massacres at the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla near Beirut.

"We are profoundly disturbed by what appears to Americans to be a lack of diligence in determining responsibility for the attacks on the refugee camps and bringing the actual perpetrators to justice," the congressmen said in a letter to Jemayel yesterday. The letter was drafted by Representatives Henry Waxman (Democrat-California) and Mary Rose Oakar (Democrat-Ohio).

"The government and people of Israel fulfilled their obligations through the exhaustive investigation by a commission of inquiry," Waxman said. "Israeli political and military leaders were identified and punished for their indirect responsibility." He added that, although the Lebanese government announced the investigation, "we have no signs of that inquiry."

## Moslems to protest against al-Aksa 'aggression'

The Supreme Moslem Council in East Jerusalem and the West Bank yesterday appealed to Moslems in the area to hold special prayers today and to fast in protest against what it called the "aggression against Islamic holy places and the al-Aksa Mosque."

The PLO has called for a general strike today against the "attack" on the Mosque.

## Begin meets families of missing soldiers

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The families of Israeli soldiers missing in action in Lebanon called on Prime Minister Menachem Begin for an unscheduled meeting yesterday after confusing announcements by PLO leaders about Israeli prisoners of war.

Begin and Defence Minister Moshe Arens left the cabinet session for an hour and answered questions put to them by the families of the missing men, whose fate has been uncertain since before the cease-fire.

The missing soldiers in question are not part of the group of eight seized in a surprise attack on an Israeli position after the cease-fire.

## Civil-defence drills tomorrow, Wednesday

Tomorrow and Wednesday there will be civil-defence exercises in many parts of the country, including Ben-Gurion Airport and Haifa Port.

The Civil Defence, the Police and Air Force units will take part in the exercise and gunfire, explosions and warning sirens will be heard. In the event of a real emergency, the sirens will sound an undulating blast.

## SOBERED OPTIMISM

(Continued from Page One)

ministers' dissatisfaction but he also understood Shamir's motives.

Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon, Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, and Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat tried in vain to pin Shamir down.

Ben-Porat said that a correspondent of the evening paper *Ma'ariv* who wrote about the American proposals last Friday appeared to enjoy more trust on the part of Shamir than the foreign minister's own colleagues. Ben-Porat was referring to the fact that since 1977, the correspondent in question has been writing as though he has unrestricted access to the most confidential state papers and communications.

Ben-Porat said that when political issues are too delicate to be presented to the full cabinet, the prime minister cannot expect the full cabinet to be responsible for them.

Begin said that when the time comes, the full cabinet will be given the full details.

## TRAVEL TAX

(Continued from Page One)

The coalition had decided originally to finance the new expenditures, which were not included in the budget, by cutting the budget of civilian ministries by 5 per cent. But at the cabinet meeting yesterday it became obvious that there was no majority favouring such cuts.

Foremost in opposition to the cuts were Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Education and Culture Minister Zevulun Hammer, both of the NRP; Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, and Transport Minister Haim Corfu. They asserted that the proposed cuts would make it impossible for their ministries to function.

Opposing the entire scheme was Energy Minister Yitzak Moda'i who said that it was impossible to add to the budget in order to cover a selective implementation of the coalition agreement.

After Aridor said that under no circumstances would he agree to print more money to finance the budget additions, it was decided to approve a compromise formula proposed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Begin's formula called for approving the large-families law and transfer of funds to the Aguda and the NRP, but it limited the amount cut from other ministries to 1 per cent of their budgets, or IS1b.

In an immediate reaction, Knesset Members Yosef Sarid, (Alignment-Labour) and Shulamit Aloni (Alignment-Citizens Rights Movement), said the cabinet had decided on a "coalition tax" on citizens to pay its coalition obligations to the religious parties.

The proposed travel tax will hurt poorer families wishing to go abroad for a short, cheap holiday, Eli Blau, chairman of the Travel Agents Association said. He noted that Israel is the only Western state to impose such a tax.

As an observant Jew, he said, he is in favour of Tora institutions. But he failed to see the connection between foreign travel and support of such institutions. The Operation Peace for Galilee tax at least had some moral weight, he said; this has none.

The panel of foreign airlines serving Israel is to meet today to discuss the possible legal considerations of such a tax in view of Israel's commitments as a member of the International Air Travel Association (IATA). Eli Messer, chairman of the panel, said last night that air travel is a bilateral matter. When one side is limited, it also hurts the other side. Such a tax, he said, could have repercussions on tourism from abroad.

Zehavi, the large-families organization, expressed satisfaction with the implementation of the large-families law, which it has been fighting for over 10 years. It regretted, however, that it was linked to the proposed travel tax, which it sees as a "violation of individual freedom" and as a source of unnecessary resentment.

## Kibbutz boy missing after boat mishap

MA'AGAN MICHAEL (Itim). — Members of this kibbutz and the police were searching late last night for a boy who is missing after a sailboat capsized in the Mediterranean not far from the kibbutz. Twenty-two boys from the kibbutz aged 13 and 14 set sail in two small boats yesterday evening.

One of the boats capsized not far from the shore.

LABOUR STUDIES. — Hstadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel last week opened an interdepartmental unit for Israel labour movement studies at Haifa University.

## Commission to act on asbestos danger

NAHARIYA (Itim). — The Labour and Social Affairs Ministry has set up a commission to investigate the use of asbestos pipes as carriers of drinking water.

This follows recent reports that eight workers in a Nahariya plant died as a result of their exposure to asbestos.

The Health Ministry reported yesterday to the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee that it has taken a number of immediate preventive measures after a committee of experts reported the danger of asbestos exposure to humans.

Hana and Gideon Hamburger
are happy to announce the
Birth of their daughter
sister of
Shira and Ben
granddaughter of
Margot and Ernest Hamburger
Ruth Kahani
Assuta Hospital, 3 Nissan 5743 March 17, 1983

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

The Sackler Faculty of Medicine
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The dedication of
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Greetings:
Col. (Res.) Yehiel Ben-Zvi Vice President for Public Affairs
Prof. Theodor Wiznitzer Dean of the Sackler Faculty of Medicine
Prof. Isaac P. Witz Dean of the George S. Wise Faculty of Life Sciences

Mr. A.S. Cohen
Lecture:
Prof. Henry Ducrot Professor at the Faculty of Medicine Necker, Paris
"Problems in the Application of Computer Sciences in Medicine"

on Tuesday, March 22, 1983, at 4.00 p.m., in the Auditorium, the Sackler Faculty of Medicine Building, lower floor, Tel Aviv University Campus, Ramat Aviv.

A reception will follow the ceremony. The lecture will be delivered in English. Entrance through gate No. 1. The public is invited.

Civil Defence (Haga) Exercise — Tomorrow and Wednesday

Throughout the Country

A Civil Defence (Haga) exercise will be held throughout the country, on Tuesday and Wednesday, March 22 and 23.
The exercise will include Ben-Gurion airport and Haifa port, with the participation of planes, Civil Defer e personnel and police. In the course of the exercise, there will be simulated firing and explosions, and extended siren sounds. In case of an actual alert, sirens will sound rising and falling notes.

Everyone is called upon to heed instructions by defence forces and Haga personnel.

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved aunt

MALKE BISKIN

The funeral will take place today Monday, March 21, 1983, at 2 p.m. at the Herzliya cemetery.

A bus will leave at 1 p.m. from the residence of the deceased, 10 Rehov Reading, Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv.

The Bereaved:
Shelpark, Kahane and Henkin families

Our beloved father

FERNAND (Ferry) FEHER

from Brateslava, has passed away.

We mourn him deeply.

Daughter — Erika Zohar, Haifa
Son — Gura Feher, California
Grandchildren and great-grandchildren

The funeral will take place at 10.00 a.m. tomorrow, Tuesday, March 22, 1983, at the old cemetery, Hof Hacarmel.
We will meet at the main cemetery entrance.

In deep sorrow we announce the death of our beloved husband, father, father-in-law, grandfather and brother

YAKOV BAEFF ז"ל

The funeral will take place at 1 p.m. today, Monday, March 21, 1983 at the Nahariya Cemetery.

The Family

Our dearly beloved husband, father and gradfather

JOE DANOVITCH ז"ל

has passed away.

Deeply mourned by his wife, Gertie, sons Ralph, Bernard and Gavril, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and relatives in Israel and Great Britain.

For details of funeral, please phone today, Hadani, Tel. 052-77083.

Our beloved

SOLLY JACOBSON ז"ל

has died in Capetown.
Deeply mourned by:
Herbert, Neera, Motty and Guy Jacobson
Lesly, Ronen and Tamar Goren

# Aharoni gets 12 years for Bar Bakar murders

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Rahamim ("Gumadi") Aharoni, 43, was sentenced to 12 years in prison yesterday after being convicted on several charges in connection with the 1980 double murder of Amos Orion and Azar Cohen at the Bar Bakar meat-packing plant in Bat Yam.

Yesterday morning the Tel Aviv District Court found Aharoni innocent of the charge of murder, due to reasonable doubt. However, the court found him guilty of three other charges: conspiring to murder, being an accessory after the fact, and destroying the evidence.

Judge Eliyahu Vinograd announced to the packed courtroom — filled mainly with Aharoni's family and friends — that he would not read the entire 80-page verdict, but only its main points. There were no disturbances in the courtroom when the verdict was read, nor when Aharoni's sentence was given several hours later.

In reaching its verdict, Vinograd said, the court accepted the testimony of state's witness Rami Arusi, whose testimony was also instrumental in convicting Tuvia Oshri, Aharoni's partner at Bar Bakar, of murdering Orion and Cohen. Oshri is serving a life sentence for the crimes.

The court also accepted the confession of Avner Me'oded, 53, Oshri's nephew, who has just completed serving a three-year sentence for supplying the murder weapon.

In the detailed version of the verdict, Judge Vinograd records the sequence of the crime: On July 22, 1980, Amos Orion and Azar Cohen were killed by shots from an Uzi submachine gun while visiting Aharoni's office at the Bar Bakar plant. They were speaking with Aharoni when they were murdered and Oshri and Arusi were also present.

The bodies of the victims were dismembered and packed into plastic containers, as were several weapons, including the murder weapon. The containers were taken and buried in the sand near Ashdod by Arusi and Me'oded.

The bodies and weapons were discovered by police two days later, by which time Oshri and Aharoni had fled the country. Oshri returned to Israel and was arrested, charged and convicted of the murders. Aharoni was extradicated from Italy last March and was charged with conspiracy to murder and the other two charges under an amended indictment.

The prosecution asked for the maximum sentence of 15 years for the three charges, and the defence asked the court to take into account the time Aharoni spent in detention in Italy awaiting extradition.

As he read the sentence, Judge Vinograd pointed out that the maximum penalty is generally reserved for the most severe cases, and, he asked, "what is more serious than the circumstances we have before us?" Calling the murders "cruel and abominable," and Aharoni the "central figure in these crimes," the judge sentenced him to 12 years' imprisonment, dating from his extradition to Israel last March 17.



President Yitzhak Navon meets his former high-school teacher, Prof. Ernst Akiva Simon, as some 200 *yekkes* gather yesterday to celebrate *the jubilee year of aliya from Germany.* (Zoom 77)

# Fifty years in Israel —and still 'yekkes'

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

They all arrived several minutes early, with each man wearing a jacket and tie, and they listened to a piece by Beethoven, three poems and four speeches with nary a whisper.

The 200 guests at Beit Hanassi yesterday proved that even after 50 years in Israel, olim from Germany still — happily — behave like *yekkes*. All members of the Association of Olim from Central Europe, the guests came to mark the jubilee year of aliya from Germany.

"May I use the word *yekke* as an expression of affection?" President Yitzhak Navon asked. The guests nodded their approval, showing that they themselves no longer regard the term as derogatory.

The president recalled his own reaction, as a young native-born Sephardi Jerusalemite, to the influx of olim from Germany in the 1930s. "They seemed strange looking. And when we wanted to buy bread from the *yekke* groceryman, one couldn't squeeze a loaf. *Nein!* He even wrapped it in paper," said Navon. "And they were so exact. Suddenly, they brought a new concept to the Middle East — that time is of value. Instead of going to a single, omniscient doctor, they had specialists for every part of the body. And — amazing — they said what they were thinking."

Navon praised German-Jewish olim — 55,000 came, plus 20,000 from Austria and Czechoslovakia — for injecting "culture, in the deep sense of the word, into our lives."

*The only weakness in the yekke* aliya, the president continued, was that "you were too few," and that the large majority of German Jews, feeling "at home" in their native country, were wiped out in the Holocaust.

Ze'ev Oestreicher, association chairman, listed the great contributions of German Jews to all fields in Israeli life.

But *yekke* was not always regarded in a positive light, said Avrahan Gerling. "There was a psychological problem. We were sometimes deeply wounded by the lack of understanding by the Yishuv (pre-State Jewish community), and by the contrast between our idealistic expectations and the realities of the country." But today, he added, the term *yekke* is recognized with respect.

The participants included Supreme Court Justice Gavriel Bach, former justices Haim Cohn, Alfred Witkon and Moshe Landau, former state comptroller Yitzhak Nebenzahl, and Prof. Ernst (Akiva) Simon (who was Navon's teacher in high school). Poet Yehuda Amihai, who was brought here from Germany by his parents in 1935, when he was 11, recited a few of his poems.

# UNIFIL troops dismantle two explosive charges

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — UNIFIL troops stationed in South Lebanon recently discovered two large explosive charges and dismantled them without incident.

A Dutch contingent patrolling near Haris village found an anti-tank mine buried in the road. The mine, which was connected to an electric power line, was defused safely.

Near Habeta village, an Irish UNIFIL contingent found and dismantled two mortar rounds wired to a timing device and ready to explode.

Israel Defence Forces officers have asked UNIFIL headquarters in Nakoura to direct its soldiers not to dismantle such devices, but to let *IDF sappers handle them.* In response, a UNIFIL officer said: "We appreciate the IDF's concern for our health very much. The IDF is not the only army in the world that knows how to dismantle explosive charges."

The UNIFIL officer went on to list the number of explosive charges a French unit has neutralized since 1978: scores of unexploded bombs dropped from aircraft; 5,600 shells of various types; 280 rockets; 1,400 hand grenades; 10,000 sections of cluster bombs; and 4,500 mines. Some of these are on display at the French contingent's headquarters.

It is not clear against whom the devices found recently were directed. UNIFIL has recently stepped up its patrols in the South Lebanon security zone.

# Secrecy to surround Ansar releases

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — The Israel Defence Forces in Lebanon will no longer release detainees discharged from the Ansar detention camp in front of the military government building in Sidon.

The decision follows a violent *demonstration at the site of some* 500 women last week, in which one woman was shot in the leg and several others were lightly injured when Israeli soldiers dispersed their protest.

The women were outraged when only 40 men were released at the time from Ansar, after they had expected many more.

The authorities decided that the discharged detainees will henceforth be released in various locations, and without prior announcement.

The Lebanese Ministry of Education has made a special request to the IDF to release 15 Lebanese and 23 Palestinian schoolteachers being held at Ansar. Schools reopened in the Shouf Mountain villages two weeks ago for the first time since *the beginning of the Lebanon war* last June, but in the villages of Aley and Bhamdoun the schools remain closed.

The Lebanese authorities yesterday appealed to the IDF to release teachers detained in the Ansar detention centre. The Lebanese, in their request, promised to see to it that those released will devote themselves to teaching. The IDF has not yet responded.

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# Teachers threaten sanctions after Pessah vacation

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Teachers may resort to sanctions or strikes after the Pessah vacation if the Finance Ministry *continues to reject their demand to* implement the recommendations of the Etzioni Commission. This was the warning sounded yesterday by Amnon Abramson, secretary-general of the Histadrut Teachers Union.

Negotiations on the recommendations for reforms in the teachers pay structure *resume today in* Jerusalem between representatives of the Histadrut Teachers Union and Secondary School Teachers Association and representatives of the Education and Culture and Finance ministries.

April 1 ends the period of "industrial quiet" to which the *teachers agreed under their recent* wage agreement. After that date, they are free under the agreement to take action to bring about the implementation of the recommendations.

Among the demands the teachers will raise today are salary increases, financial incentives for teachers *who work in poor neighbourhoods* and development towns, and improved working conditions in the schools. The teachers are not saying publicly how much of an increase they wish, but the commission recommended a 67 per cent rise, of which the teachers have received about 30 per cent.

*Abramson said the teachers will* take "organizational steps" after Pessah unless the negotiations starting today seem like producing better results than previous talks.

## Pope calls for aid to Jerusalem shrines

VATICAN CITY (AP). — Pope John Paul II called yesterday on *Roman Catholics* to contribute "generously according to their own possibilities," to a collection to be held for the church in Jerusalem.

Speaking in his weekly Angelus address, the pope called on the faithful to give in a collection to be *held in Roman Catholic churches* on Good Friday on April 1, saying the donations would be used for upkeep of shrines and for pastoral works in the city.

## Di-Zahav's ex-settlers ask: Where's our money?

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The evacuation from Sinai under the Israel-Egypt peace treaty remains very real to former members of Moshav Di-Zahav (Dahab) who are conducting a sit-down strike outside Prime Minister Menachem Begin's Jerusalem home. The ex-settlers say they are the only group not compensated for the property they left behind. When the final bill for compensation passed, they say, *the last page of the proposed law,* which referred to them, was surreptitiously deleted.

According to them, Knesset Finance Committee Chairman Menahem Porush has admitted they were treated unfairly, but the Knesset has simply forgotten about them. "We took the advice of (then agriculture minister Ariel) Sharon, who told us to go without a fuss and now we're paying for it," Eitan Dolan, one of the settlers, said yesterday.

Dolan said the government received $1.45 million from the Egyptians for the installation and equipment at Dahab, but the former residents have seen none of it.

They say Begin has ignored their appeals to meet them.

## Korean-speakers sought as guides

The Tourism Ministry is urgently seeking people who speak Korean, the ministry announced yesterday.

The ministry is making big efforts to promote Israeli tourism among the six million Christians in South Korea and wants Korean-speakers to accompany tourist groups.

# Bids to 'whitewash Hitler' to be countered

By ERNIE MEYER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The main purpose of an international conference that opened at Yad Vashem yesterday is to refute recent statements by some historians that Adolf Hitler was not responsible for the Holocaust.

*The Fifth International Historical* Conference of Yad Vashem opened yesterday under the heading "The Historiography of the Holocaust Period."

Professor Yisrael Gutman, who heads the Holocaust Research Centre at Yad Vashem, told reporters about the efforts of even reputable historians to whitewash the Nazi leadership. He especially quoted the work of Prof. Martin Braszat, head of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, who does not deny that Hitler eventually learned about the destruction of the Jews, but who says that this had not been part of his plan.

The tendency to kill the Jews, according to Braszat, only started under *wartime conditions in Poland,* when lower-echelon officials decided that when Jews could no longer be housed and fed, the best solution was to kill them.

"Braszat thus deftly separates ideology from execution," Gutman said. "He is helped by the fact that no direct order from Hitler, decreeing the extermination of the Jews was ever found."

Gutman explained how this kind of historiography (the writing of history) opens the door to the more absurd views of neo-Nazis, who deny the Holocaust took place.

Yad Vashem executive chairman Yitzhak Arad highlighted another aspect of Holocaust historiography when he quoted a Polish book on the period that makes it appear as if three million Poles had been occupied almost exclusively with efforts to save some 400,000 Jews. "These historians deny any Polish complicity *in the Holocaust and* describe their compatriots only as victims," he said.

The Russians, added Arad, deny a specific Jewish Holocaust and describe the extermination of the Jews simply in terms of the general fascist barbarity.

More than 30 lecturers, including 10 from overseas, are taking part in the five-day conference.

**PESSAH.** — Because of the prohibition *on hametz* (leavened food) during Pessah, soldiers will be able to receive only parcels certified as kasher for Pessah by the Defence Forces Chaplaincy during the holiday. Such pre-packed parcels are available at Shekem stores IDF spokesman announced yesterday.

## Students say TAU 'dragging its feet'

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

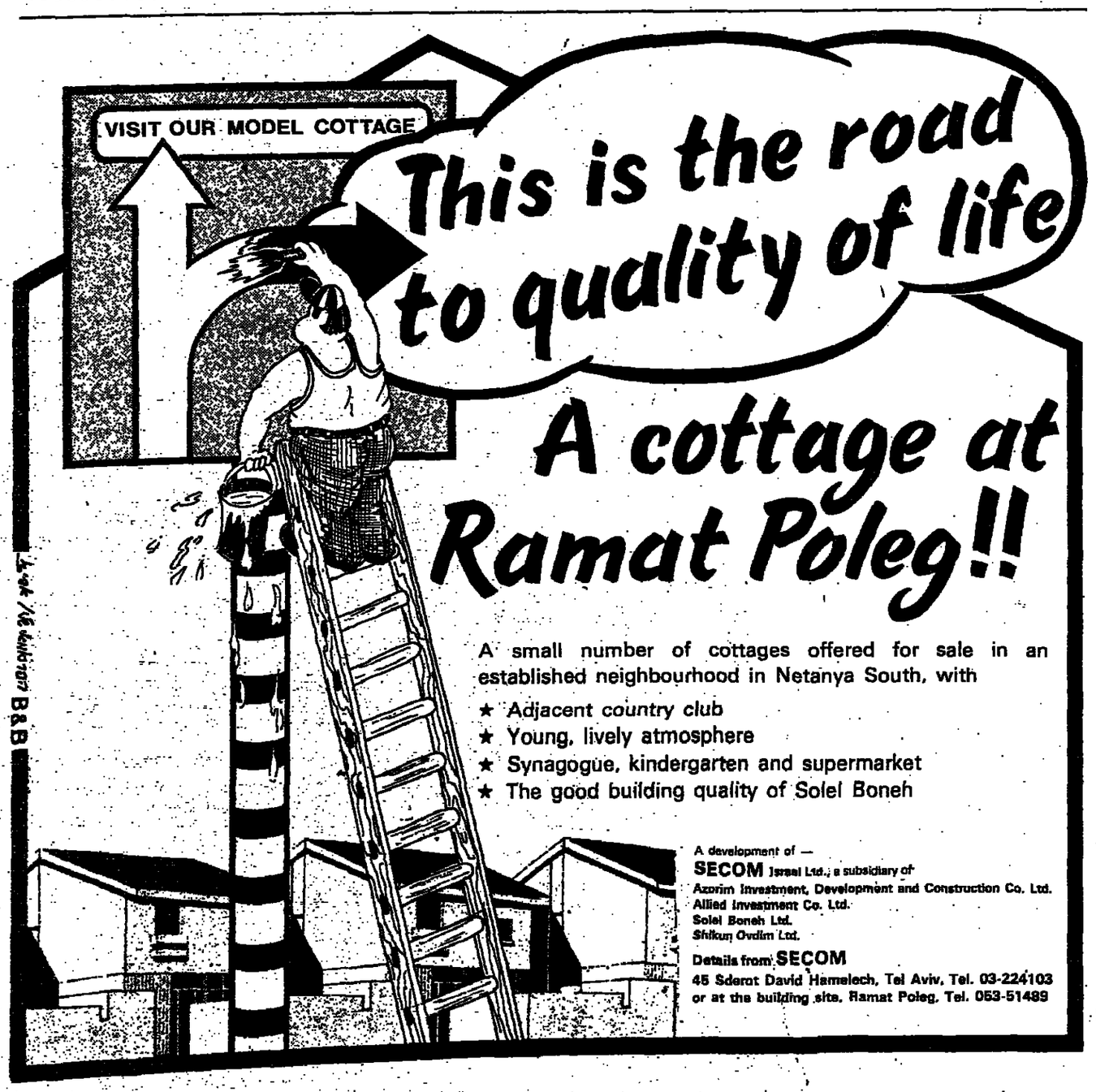
TEL AVIV. — Tel Aviv University's administration finds it convenient to live without a students association, and is therefore dragging its feet about approving elections, leaders of Studention, one of the student movements on the campus, said yesterday.

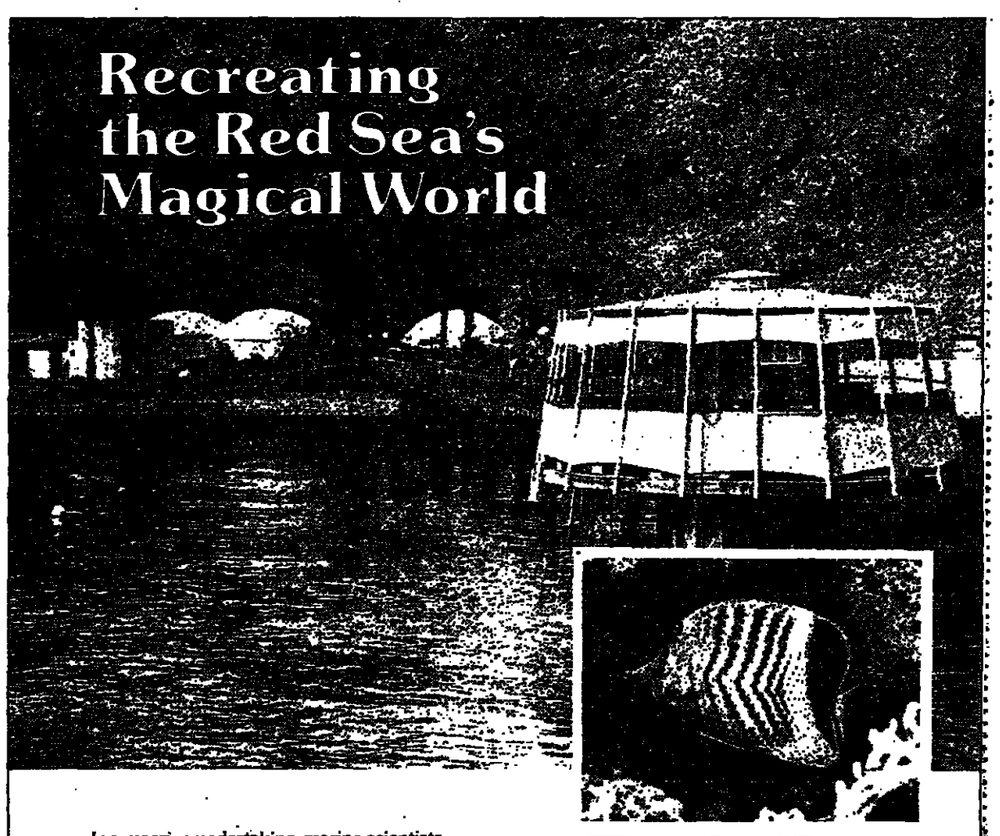
Yohai Amiel, chairman of Studention, said his organization is nonpartisan and interested only in student welfare. He said it deserves credit for getting the political student groups to reach an agreement on elections.

According to Amiel, "the dean of students, Aharon Chelouche, promised that if all the groups reach an agreement, the university will recognize the elections and the resulting student association. We brought him the agreement a month ago. We're still waiting for official approval. The elections are scheduled for April 26, but they *cannot take place without the university's support.*"

But a university spokeswoman rejected Studention's charges. "If anybody is dragging their feet, it is the student group themselves," she said.

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(Advertising Section)

# THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

## THANK YOU VERY MUCH

When we announced last week that our Annual Test Line would not be fully operative for a few days due to modernisation and *the installation of new* equipment, little did we think that dozens of our regular clients would still come along for a partial test and tell us that they'd wait until we finished the changes before completing the rest of their test. That's loyalty for which we at AUTOCHECK thank you, one and all. At AUTOCHECK we pride ourselves in the fact that we have the best garage service in Jerusalem. After all we've just won three major awards. Preferred Business 1983. Best Brand 1983. Israel Best Buy 1983. Whatever the make, whatever the year, whatever the problem, you'll do better with AUTOCHECK, the reliable complete car service. Spring is in the air, so it's time to sign up in the AUTOCHECK ROAD SAFETY CLUB, the service that ensures trouble free motoring. Ask for details when you drop by.

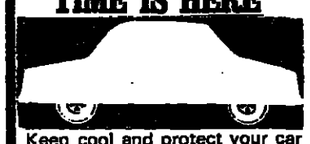
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# Killing of four Whites condemned by Nkomo

LONDON (AP). — Zimbabwe opposition leader Joshua Nkomo, who recently fled his homeland, yesterday condemned the killings of an elderly White couple and their two granddaughters in his Matabeleland stronghold and demanded that their murderers be brought to justice.

"This is horrible," Nkomo said. "I abhor all these things whoever commits them."

Nkomo fled Zimbabwe via Botswana, alleging that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was trying to have him killed. He arrived in Britain a week ago.

The leader of the opposition Zimbabwe African Peoples Union denounced an allegation by Zimbabwe's Information Director Justin Nyoka that six armed dissidents loyal to Nkomo had shot dead Eric Stratford, 66, his wife, Christine, 62, and their 12-year-old and 15-year-old granddaughters.

"This is an irresponsible statement and is stupid and it doesn't assist us to eradicate the venom that is scourging our country," Nkomo said.

Meanwhile, White Matabeleland farmers fear a new wave of terror against civilians.

"We've had enough," a neighbour of the victims who would not be identified said in a telephone interview. "We've spoken among *ourselves and decided that unless* the government can crush these murderers, we may find it's not worthwhile sticking around here."

## Ex-defence chief was prostitute's client

LONDON (Ap). — Sir James Dunnett, a retired top civil servant, was quoted in press reports yesterday as admitting that he had a relationship with a male prostitute transvestite with a police record.

Dunnett, 69, held important posts in Whitehall. During one period he was permanent Under-Secretary of the Defence Ministry with access to matters of national security.

The weekly *News Of The World* front-paged an interview with Vikki De Lambray, 33, a transvestite and convicted thief, who said he had handed over information to Britain's political intelligence agency, MI5.

He said a Soviet diplomat, a former cabinet minister, other leading politicians, a member of the royal family and a scientist attached to the U.S. embassy were among his clients for sex. The scientist "is an authority on nuclear subjects," Lambray said.

The only persons identified by *News Of The World* were Dunnett and former Soviet naval attache *Captain Anatoly Zotov*, expelled by Britain last December for reportedly attempting to spy on Royal Navy dockyards.

The weekly said it was told by De Lambray that Zotov asked him to obtain documents and security passes from some of his clients.

"There was no security aspect at all," Dunnett told another weekly paper, *The Sunday Express*. Dunnett said he met De Lambray only once, five years after his retirement, and *gave him some money after indulging* in a sexual act with him. The police told him about De Laray's background. "I thought he was an attractive woman until then," Dunnett was quoted as saying.

## Libyan teenager vanishes in London

LONDON (Reuter). — The 17-year-old daughter of a Libyan diplomat has disappeared in London, police said yesterday.

Amal Sharif, whose father Mohammed Hadi Sharif is a financial attache at the Libyan People's Bureau in London, vanished on Friday afternoon after leaving her mother and sister to look for a watch lost on a shopping trip, a police spokeswoman said.

She later telephoned her parents to say she had had an accident and had internal bleeding, a spokesman said. "Then it sounded as if she fell and the phone dropped. An English voice was heard to say 'no, no, no' and the phone went dead."

Police said they were concerned for Amal's safety but the case was not yet being treated as a kidnapping.

London and other West European capitals have for a decade been the scene of violence involving opponents and supporters of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

## Reagan thinks wife 'great' as television actress

WASHINGTON (AP). — Nancy Reagan might have a future as an actress, her husband was quoted as saying on Saturday night after watching her in her first paid role in 26 years.

The U.S. president and his wife watched the television show *Different Strokes*, in which Mrs. Reagan made an eight-minute appearance.

"I thought she was great and I think the programme will be very effective," the president was quoted as saying.

The show dealt with drug use among elementary school children.

Mrs. Reagan was a movie actress when she and her husband, a former actor, were married in 1952. Her last movie was one made with him in 1957, *Hellcats of the Navy*.

## UK poll predicts Labour to lose special election

LONDON (AP). — Britain's opposition Labour Party will lose its House of Commons seat at Darlington in a special election Thursday to the centrist Social Democratic Party-Liberal alliance, an opinion poll in the *Sunday People* predicted.

There is intense speculation that Labourite leader Michael Foot may resign if Darlington is lost, following the upset win of the alliance over Labour in the Bermondsey seat in London one month ago.

The poll showed the two-year-old alliance leading in the northeast England industrial constituency with 38.6 per cent of the vote, Labour second with 36.5 per cent and the ruling Conservative 24.6 per cent. Fringe candidates had 0.3 per cent.

## Artist says he dallied with Dalis

BARCELONA (Reuter). — Art experts and close friends of surrealist painter Salvador Dali yesterday denied the assertions of a Spanish artist who said he had flooded the market with false Dalis.

Manuel Pujol Baladas, 35, told the news magazine *Cambio 16* he had sold 400 works in the style of Dali, many with forged signatures. "Since 1975 there is more of my work in the market than Dali's" he said in the interview published on Friday.

Maria Luisa Iomas, director of the Dali museum in Figueras, said that "Things like this happen quite frequently and we do not attach any importance to it at all. People in the business will not believe it anyway."

She said she had never heard of Pujol and said he was only seeking publicity.

Dali's private secretary, Robert Descharnes, said all Dali's work was catalogued and said the allegations were getting excessive attention. He said he had not mentioned the affair to the 78-year-old painter, who was busy preparing a major exhibition of his work next month in Madrid.

## Norway poisoner gets 21 years

TRONDHEIM, Norway (Reuter). — The director of a home for the aged here was sentenced on Saturday to 21 years' imprisonment for poisoning 22 of his charges to death.

Arnfinn Nesset, 46, who was described by psychiatrists as unstable and suffering from repressed feelings of aggression, received the maximum sentence under Norwegian law. His sentence includes 10 years of psychiatric observation.

Nesset's trial, which lasted 84 days was the longest in Norwegian history. The jury rejected the defence argument that Nesset poisoned his elderly victims — who ranged in age from 67 to 97 — out of a motive of "mercy." He murdered them by injecting them with curacit, a derivative of the highly toxic curare.

## French foreign trade minister resigns

PARIS (Reuter). — Foreign Trade Minister Michel Jobert, a senior figure in France's Socialist administration, resigned yesterday as a *major shake-up in the 22-month-old* government appeared imminent.

Jobert, 61, who also served in Gaullist administrations, was the first senior cabinet member to leave since the Socialist government was formed in June, 1981.

Jobert said he had decided to quit because he had never been entrusted with powers that would ensure a coherent and effective policy.

## Sailor's husband dies in boat mishap

SALCOMBE, England (AP). — Yachtsman Rob James, husband of solo round-the-world sailor Dame Naomi James, drowned early on Sunday after falling overboard from his trimaran at the entrance to Salcombe Estuary off the west coast of England, police said.

# Steamroller couldn't crush 'bogus' watches

HONG KONG (Reuter). — A French watch manufacturer recently hired a steam-roller to run over 6,000 watches to publicize the firm's concern at the volume of fake goods flooding the markets of the Far East.

To its embarrassment, some of the crushed watches still worked and the firm, Cartier, shipped them from Hong Kong to its factory in Paris for examination by experts.

"It was amazing. That's why we need to compare the quality of the fake watches," Mimi Tang, Cartier's assistant public relations manager, told *Reuter*.

To the despair of customs officials and the embarrassment of governments, a wide variety of bogus goods is now available to cater for the lust of the public for top brand names.

"The underground industry is so industrialized that its products are of high quality and therefore difficult to detect. As a result, companies are losing millions in revenue," said one French fashion house manager.

Hong Kong officials seized $16 million worth of fakes ranging from jeans, sportswear, leather bags, fabrics and watches last year, but admitted that this is only the tip of the iceberg.

The British colony has a special customs squad to try to track down fakes made and sold locally. It also tries to stop fakes made in other countries reaching the Hong Kong market.

The squad discovered recently that several Japanese fake products were being sent to Hong Kong and sold to unsuspecting Japanese tourists to take home.

Its chief, Jack Howard, said the watches seized were mainly conventional, mechanical ones bearing falsified Swiss and Japanese brand names for export to Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Africa and the Middle East. But he added that counterfeit electronic watches had been found recently.

Fake watches with exclusive brand names could be bought for as little as $25 in tourist shops.

But Howard said that many local retailers dealt in cheap watches modelled on a renowned brand with a locally made gold-plated base and metal bracelet-like band. These were sold to tourists as solid-gold expensive models.

Many fake leather handbags, belts and clothing accessories such as ties and scarves on sale in Hong Kong were imported from Europe, mostly from Italy.

A leading department store was fined two years ago for selling fake leather goods — and for more than the price of genuine leather articles.




# Sports

## Ethiopia dominant

GATESHEAD (AP). — Bekelee Debele, a diminutive 20-year-old from Ethiopia, defeated five former champions and a host of other established distance runners to win the gold medal at the 1983 world cross-country championships held outside this North England town yesterday.

In one of the closest finishes ever seen in the 80-year history of the championships, the green-shirted African, who led for much of the 12,000-metre race, outsprinted three other athletes including Alberto Salazar, the world's fastest *marathon man, to take the title.* Carlos Lopes, 36, of Portugal, the oldest man in the field of 228 — took the silver medal with Kenya's Some Muge winning the bronze. With competitors timed to the nearest second, the first three places were all clocked at 36.52 seconds. Salazar was fourth.

**Ethiopia won the team event and to underline their supremacy also took the first two places in the junior event.**

**Perennial winner Greta Weitz of Norway won the women's race over 4 kms, the Americans taking the team event.**

**A trio of men runners, Arieh Gamliel, Yair Kazai and Yehezkel Halifa, plus Zehava Shmueli among the women, represented Israel at the championships.**

## Shaw's splendid record

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — London-born runner Barry Shaw continued a remarkable sequence of successes, when he won the Israel Association of Veteran Athletes inaugural 7½km. cross-country championships over the weekend.

**Shaw finished in 26 minutes, 41 seconds, to register his 13th consecutive victory in middle and long-distance competition here since he turned 40 last June. Following Shaw home among the 60 starters were Eli Ron (27.28) and Danny Raviel (28.57).**

**Mother-of-three Rona Saydon, 31, who only took up competitive running a year ago, was first finisher among the handful of women participants. Her time of 32.34 gave her 15th place overall.**

## Brave King downed

Post Sports Staff and Agencies

Boston was all ready to pay an emotion-laden tribute to the greatest star of women's tennis 39-year-old Billy Jean King who has indicated she may finally tuck her rackets away for good at the end of the year. But though putting in a sterling effort, Mrs. King, who has won the Boston title of the women's circuit on no fewer than five previous occasions, was just not good enough to continue a fabulous run and was beaten in the semifinals of the $150,000 event by Sylvia Hanika.

**The 23-year-old West German was kept behind by the baseline throughout most of the match by King who, shrugging off her years as easily as a camaleon changing colour, consistently rushed forward to seize the initiative and blast her opponent's power. Much to the delight of the large crowd who had come to cheer her on King's tactics worked at first. But at 5-5 Hanika won four straight points on her serve and then took the set on a disputed call that bothered King for several games as Hanika rushed away to win 7-5, 6-2.**

Hanika plays Wendy Turnbull, another veteran, of Australia who bested top-seeded Tracy Austin 6-3, 3-6, 7-5.

Brian Teacher defeated fellow-American Mark Dickson 1-6, 6-4, 6-2, 6-3 to win the WCT indoor championship in Munich. The 28-year-old victor who had put out Wojtek Fibak in the semis, battled Dickson for three full hours before claiming the $100,000 top prize.

**Gene Mayer, remaining in command from the first set on, defeated top seed Guillermo Vilas in the Rotterdam tournament final. In notching his first singles title of 1983, Mayer topped Vilas 6-1, 7-6, marking the first time he has beaten the Argentinian after six attempts.**

## SCOREBOARD

**ICE HOCKEY: NHL results — St. Louis Blues 3 Minnesota North Stars 3; Calgary Flames 2 Boston Bruins 2; Pittsburgh Penguins 7 Los Angeles Kings 4.**

**RUGBY: The touring Chilean tourists defeated a combined South African Universities side 21-19 in Wellington, Cape Province.**

**SPORTOTO DIVIDENDS: 28 persons forecast all 13 matches correctly on the weekend football pools and each wins IS250,000. 12 correct pays IS3,700; 11 right is worth IS336 and 10 — IS55.**

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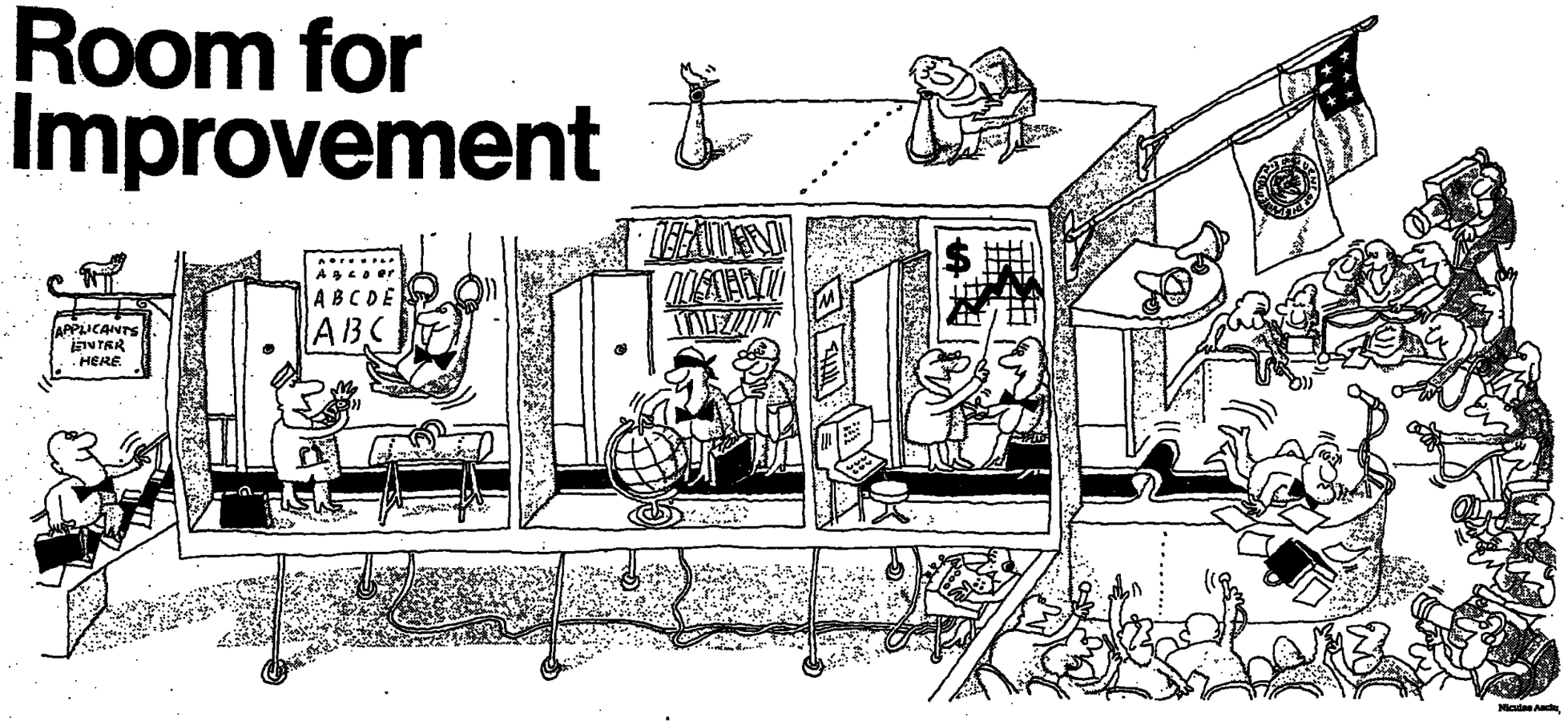
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WEEKLY REVIEW

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# Room for Improvement




Nicolas Asch,

## Reagan's Appointees Reflect the Process, for Better or Worse

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON

A frantic search for a cleaner than clean environmental administrator, an abrupt decision to let a trusted national security lieutenant return to private industry, charges that top White House officials have been less than scrupulous about their outside financial dealings — these and other woes last week raised the question of whether President Reagan has had more than usual difficulty with his appointments.

Some Reagan aides now predict tighter White House control over the appointment selection process. The President's personnel headaches, however, seem rooted in procedures and policies which were, in fact, tightly enforced in the last two years, and which many Reagan advisers say were bound to produce problems.

Three aspects of the process are worth noting. First, since taking office Mr. Reagan has used his appointment prerogatives as a tool to implement a conservative "revolution" in the way Government functions. Both James G. Watt, the Interior Secretary, and Anne McGill Burford, who resigned recently as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, thus became the focus of controversies having to do with policies that Mr. Reagan himself wanted implemented. For similar reasons, the President encountered fresh difficulties last week with Gen. Edward L. Rowny, the strategic arms negotiator, and Kenneth L. Adelman, his choice to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. General Rowny has run into serious trouble for a memo criticizing colleagues for being too eager to reach an arms agreement with Moscow. Congressional opponents of Mr. Adelman also fear that he is not committed to arms control.

A second factor became clear immediately after Mr. Reagan appointed his Cabinet. Conservatives bombarded the White House with complaints that Reagan loyalists had been overlooked, and, many White House aides say, Mr. Reagan was forced to turn to people whose lack of experience in, and hostility to, Government were deemed qualifications for Federal jobs. A study of nearly 150 middle-level appointments in the first half of 1981 showed that nearly 60 percent of the sub-Cabinet offices, nearly 80 percent of the independent agencies and virtually 100 percent of the independent regulatory commissions were staffed by people with no prior service in the Federal executive branch. "President Reagan's personnel problems are not in the least surprising," said G. Calvin Mackenzie, the associate professor of government at Colby College who undertook the study with the Administration's help. "With all these people swimming against the stream of public policy, some are going to drown. You've got an especially dangerous situation with people so inexperienced."

In the category of appointees' judgment, the Administration does seem to have had its share of embarrassments. E.S. Savas, an assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development, was suspended after charges that he had used his Government staff to edit and proofread a book he wrote. Robert P. Nimmo, chief of the Veterans Administration, resigned after it was disclosed that he had used his chauffeur for personal transportation and spent $54,000 to redecorate his office. Mr. Reagan purged the Legal Services Corporation after it was disclosed that several appointees had arranged five-figure "consulting fees" while trying to cut back free legal aid for the poor. "You can't always determine in advance who will fit into the Washington environment," said Helene von Damm, the Presidential assistant in charge of personnel who will soon be United States Ambassador to Austria. "We have installed the most extensive system of cross-checks ever, but you can't avoid problems completely."

A third factor in Mr. Reagan's troubles stems from his desire, shared by most chief executives, to surround himself with longtime associates, even at political cost. In any highly charged political environment loyalty is the essential glue, and Mr. Reagan, like most political leaders, doesn't like to let associates go in the absence of provable charges of wrongdoing or extreme political embarrassment. The case of President Carter's budget director and confidant, Bert Lance, is a striking recent example.

### The Price of Loyalty

Mr. Reagan has often found himself sticking up for officials whose financial records have been questioned. Top White House aides, for instance, made no secret of their wish that Raymond J. Donovan step down as Labor Secretary because of allegations that he engaged in illegal labor practices as a businessman. Mr. Donovan denied the charges. The failure of William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, to list all his business holdings and legal clients in early disclosure documents led to a Senate investigation last year. Still another longtime Reagan friend, Attorney General William French Smith, came under fire after it became known that he claimed outsized write-offs on an oil and gas tax shelter and took a generous severance payment from a company on whose board he had served. Mr. Smith eventually reduced his tax break and returned the severance payment.

But loyalty was apparently too high a price to pay in the case of Richard V. Allen, the former national security adviser. Though he was cleared of charges of criminal misconduct in accepting gifts from Japanese journalists, Mr. Allen was ousted after colleagues criticized him as a poor administrator. Last week, Mr. Reagan permitted Thomas C. Reed, a wealthy California businessman, to withdraw as a special assistant for national security affairs after new reports that Mr. Reed benefited from inside information in the trading of stock options in 1981.

Some Democrats feel that Mr. Reagan escapes lasting embarrassment because such news is so routine. Few remember the report that Norman B. Ture, then a Treasury undersecretary, had arranged a Treasury contract for an economic forecasting model he partly owned. More recently, it was disclosed that Navy Secretary John F. Lehman had not severed his connections with his consulting company, which does business with military contractors. Last week came the news of a grand jury investigation of three Boeing Company executives who got severance pay of $400,000 to take high-level Pentagon jobs.

Reagan aides complain that an unrealistically tough standard is being applied to Presidential appointees. They also continue to put their faith in the White House's elaborate procedures, in which prospective appointees must fill out detailed disclosure forms, and clearances are conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the office of the White House counsel, Fred F. Fielding, the Office of Government Ethics and ethics officers at each Government agency. "If somebody's financial arrangements are questioned in the press, that doesn't mean something wrong has happened," Mr. Fielding said. "Another thing to remember is that public awareness is higher than it's ever been. If you compare our record against our predecessors and apply the same standards to them that you apply today, I don't know how we'd stack up. I suspect better than most."

# Major News

In Summary

### Pressures and Postures Over Missile Talks

In an increasingly edgy domestic and diplomatic climate, President Reagan met last week with his top security advisers to discuss how and when the United States might meet the Soviet Union halfway on missile deployment in Europe. But even before the meeting convened, Moscow as good as told Washington that halfway was nowhere.

Under considerable pressure from the North Atlantic allies for a compromise that would break the negotiation deadlock in Geneva, the Reagan Administration looked into the possibility of an interim solution while holding fast to its long-range zero option: the elimination of all Soviet missiles targeted on Western Europe in return for abandoning an Allied plan to deploy 108 precision American Pershing 2 missiles and 464 low-flying, radar-evading cruise missiles. Renewed pressure came from Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers who came to Washington and from the newly-elected Christian Democratic Government in West Germany which, however loyal to Washington, is eager for a level of deployment well below the total of 204 missiles planned for it. In Brussels, European members of NATO's consultative group on arms control told United States Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt they wanted to see some new proposals quickly.

The zero option has been shrugged off in Moscow as not serious. Similarly, Moscow's proposal to lower the level of its missiles to the 162 Britain and France have — if the allies forgo the American missiles — has been dismissed in the West. Despite the rebuffs, Moscow remains vehement in its efforts to block deployment of any American missiles in Europe, especially the Pershings. Georgi A. Arbatov, the Kremlin's expert on the United States, said last week any compromise offer to reduce the number of such missiles on both sides would be "a propaganda trick" that would be rejected.

Mr. Arbatov's bitter attack in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, on the White House and its "stench of failure" indicated Moscow's annoyance with Mr. Reagan's recent characterization of it as "a focus of evil." Earlier, Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, chief of the Soviet General Staff, in a rare interview, told Leslie H. Gelb of The New York Times that if European-based American missiles were used against the Soviet Union, the Russians would retaliate directly against the United States. Limited war would not be possible, he said. "Inevitably such a war will extend to all-out war."

Mexico and the oil bubble 3

No way out for Soviet Jews 4

Washington may make an offer anyway if only to keep its increasingly nervous allies happy and dampen anti-nuclear feeling in the United States. In addition to the opposition to its defense budget, the Administration faces an uphill fight to head off adoption, probably after Easter, by the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives of a resolution calling for a verifiable nuclear arms freeze by both sides. In an article in Time magazine, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger sought to enter the debate by calling for a new policy of nuclear defense and arms control, one that would eliminate missiles with multiple warheads (MIRVs) because they give an advantage to an attacker and thus increase the temptation to strike first.

### At E.P.A., It Goes With the Territory

John W. Hernandez must have known what a hot seat he was taking when he became acting Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, but he probably did not foresee how fast the temperature would rise. He had scarcely settled into Anne McGill Burford's old chair last week when the accusations of favoritism to business that helped unseat her made the White House accelerate its search for a new E.P.A. chief.

The White House said yesterday that William D. Ruckelshaus, in 1970 the agency's first head, has been asked to return and is "interested." His resignation as Deputy Attorney General during the Saturday Night Massacre and consequent reputation for independence make him an attractive candidate. But confirmation difficulties could be expected. Since 1975, he has been an executive in a major lumber company.

Mr. Hernandez's troubles began when Representative James H. Scheuer, Democrat of Queens, charged that he had personally intervened to let Dow Chemical Company alter a draft E.P.A. report on dioxin contamination around its Midland, Mich., plant. Critical references to Dow — which was blamed in the original draft as "the major source, if not the only source" of dioxin in the area — were deleted, along with mention of a study linking dioxin exposure to miscarriages and a recommendation that fish caught near Midland not be eaten. "Mr. Hernandez angrily denounced the report as 'trash,'" Valdas V. Adamkus, E.P.A. regional administrator in Chicago, told the House Energy and Commerce investigations subcommittee. Dr. Milton J. Clark, health effects specialist in the Chicago office, said Dow was allowed to go through the report line by line. This was "unethical, unusual and unprofessional," Mr. Adamkus said, but "I had received marching orders."

"Upon reflection, I believe it might have been better to have circulated the draft report more widely," Mr. Hernandez said, but he denied telling anyone to make the deletions. A Dow *spokesman called Government* requests for scientific review routine.

On another hot spot, White House officials reversed an earlier statement that they had no reports in their files relating to the Stringfellow waste dump in California. Craig Fuller, assistant to President Reagan for Cabinet affairs, said two weekly "action alerts" from last summer had turned up on the subject. One of the charges Congress is investigating is that Mrs. Burford delayed cleanup money for the site to weaken the Senate campaign of former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. The White House insisted that the newly discovered papers did not implicate the Administration in political foot-dragging.



Associated Press

Acting E.P.A. Administrator John W. Hernandez appearing before a House investigative subcommittee last week.

### OPEC Epoch On the Skids

After 10 years of prices going up up up, OPEC last week admitted there was no place to go but down. The 13 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries agreed in London to cut the official price by 15 percent, dropping it from $34 to $29 a barrel based on Saudi Light crude. But in a glutted marketplace where OPEC no longer called the shots, many experts predicted a further slide to the mid-$20 range.

Meanwhile, the faltering cartel's future hangs perilously from shaky new production ceilings for each member nation. If those collapse, so may OPEC. "The price of oil is falling down, its ceiling perforated," as Sheik Mani Said al-Otaiba, the United Arab Emirates's oil minister, put it in a poem composed for the occasion.

Non-OPEC members, including the Soviet Union, Mexico and Egypt, quickly announced cuts of their own. Hard-pressed exporters such as Iran and Nigeria have been selling at a discount for months. Britain insisted its North Sea oil would follow the market — not OPEC — prompting Saudi Arabia's Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani to warn that a drop of more than 50 cents in North Sea prices would be "inviting a price war."

Lower oil prices meant a welcome boost for the American economy (although the United States now buys no more than 9 percent of its oil from OPEC). Also pleased were other big industrial users such as West Germany and Japan, which estimated annual savings of $6.5 billion, and for "Opecunious" third world countries, as The Economist in London called them.

Oil-exporters with large-scale development plans heavily mortgaged to foreign banks will be squeezed. Venezuela and Nigeria each stand to lose more than $1 billion annually and the Saudi loss may reach $23 billion. With Iran and Kuwait gaining $6.5 billions, Gulf states' net losses are estimated at $21 bilion by the Bankers Trust Company.

Saudi Arabia was also a political casualty. The Saudis have cut daily production from a high of more than 10 million barrels 19 months ago to below 4 million now — less than one-fourth of current OPEC output. Saudi Arabia agreed to let its production swing up and down to try to hold the price line. But Riyadh's Persian Gulf enemy, Iran, demanded and won a doubled daily quota of 2.4 million barrels that will help pay for its war with its OPEC neighbor Iraq.

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# The Nation

## White House Fends Off a Budget Defeat

"Every time the President has intervened in the (Congressional) budget process, he has been wrong," Senator Slade Gorton, declared last week. On purely procedural grounds, many of his colleagues agree the Republican from Washington may have a point. As a matter of politics, however, the White House's moves have generally been timely and effective — as they were last week.

On the inference that a compromise on defense spending could be reached, given time, the Senate Budget Committee delayed until after Easter its drafting of a balance sheet for 1984. The delay saved Mr. Reagan from almost certain embarrassment. An alternative to his $245.3 billion military budget request had been scheduled for a vote, and was considered almost certain to pass. It would have held increases for the military to 5 percent or 6 percent after inflation instead of Mr. Reagan's 10 percent. "Accommodation" and "flexibility" were the words President Reagan used about his posture, according to Senator Pete V. Domenici, the Repbulican from New Mexico who is the panel's chairman. "Public relations steamroller" was the term used by Senator Donald W. Riegle Jr., a Michigan Democrat, to express many members' apprehensions that the White House intended to use the Easter break to lobby for military expansion.

Mr. Reagan's immediate target, however, was the other side of the Capitol and the preferred Democratic budget for the 1984 fiscal year, passed in broad outline by the House Budget Committee last week. But his denunciations, in a news briefing Friday and to a national radio audience yesterday, seemed calculated to leave room for maneuver. The attack was limited to the "liberal wing" of the opposition, which, Mr. Reagan said, was aiming a partisan dagger "straight at the heart of America's rebuilding program."

The House Democrats would hold military increases to 4 percent — a figure not that far from the Senate Republican alternative — and raise $30 billion extra in taxes to cover a new $17 billion job program and restore some domestic spending cut in 1981-82. Mr. Reagan's bottom line is $189 billion in the red; the Democratic deficit is $171 billion.

On paper, that is. Committee action showed the going will be tough. In the Budget Committee, a Republican amendent requiring specifics on military spending was defeated on a straight party-line vote. As for taxes, the Ways and Means Committee — "in a signal to our friends what is doable," as Dan Rostenkowski, the Illinois Democrat who is committee chairman, put it — said a realistic goal would be $8 billion.

## Even New Dawns Have Gray Areas

Economists are perpetual worriers. But then it seems they always have something to worry about. Now that recovery from back-to-back serious recessions is indisputably here, their concern is how robust it will be. Last week's economic indicators did little to clarify the uncertainties.

*On the side of strength,* February's housing starts were up 2.9 percent. More important as a gauge of continuing improvement in a sector that pulls others behind it was the level of permits for future construction. They were up a healthy 1 percent. And the inflation report continued to be bright. Wholesale prices rang up a slight 0.1 percent rise last month. But the reason there was a rise at all was sharp food price increases, which wiped out the effect of lower energy prices. Many economists expect food costs to accelerate as the Administration's buy-out plan for farm surpluses, called Payment in Kind, goes forward.

Other equivocal figures weighed down the debit side. Americans' personal income rose in February, but by a lackluster 0.1 percent; a strong rebound depends heavily on consumer demand. As Jerry Jasinowski, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers put it, factory operators "are not going to rapidly expand production until they see a substantial and sustained increase in sales." In February, they clearly didn't. Industrial production rose a modest 0.3 percent. Factory use gained, but the month's level was still below 70 percent.

## Labor as Management

Whenever an old manufacturing plant in the Northeast or Middle West is about to be shut down or cut back, there is talk about workers somehow taking charge, imposing new efficiency and saving their jobs. In the case of the National Steel Corporation's Weirton Works in West Virginia, such a scheme may become reality this spring.

If a tentative agreement reached last weekend is approved by the mill's 7,000 employees, Weirton would become the largest employee-owned company in the country. National, the nation's fourth-biggest steel producer, has said that if the negotiations failed, operations at the plant — which produces tin plate and rolled steel and once had a payroll of 12,000 — would be reduced substantially. A negotiating committee set a price of $66 million for the mill and its equipment. The new company would also pay National some $300 million for raw materials and other inventory. In the process, Weirton's workers would be required to give up a third or more of their pay.

Prospects for a reprieve seemed dimmer for the 7,300 employees of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation's plant in Lackawanna, N.Y. Bethlehem's president, Walter F. Williams, turned down union proposals for cutting costs and saving jobs. Modernizing the plant, he said, would cost several hundred million dollars — not a worthwhile investment for a company that has "more than ample steel-making capacity" elsewhere. Mr. Williams said already announced plans to curtail operations at Bethlehem's Johnstown, Pa., plant would proceed as well.

Michael Wright
and Caroline Rand Herron

## Senate Rules Ripe for Bending

WASHINGTON

IT was a tense moment during the Senate debate of the $4.2 emergency jobs bill that passed last week, 92 to 16. After proposing a rider repealing last year's tax withholding on dividends and interest, Senator Robert W. Kasten Jr., a first-term Republican from Wisconsin, signaled he might use an unusual parliamentary maneuver to force a vote on his amendment. Majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee rose in a fury. If the senators manipulated their own rules, he warned, "this place will be a jungle."

After days of wrangling, Mr. Kasten withdrew his amendment in exchange for a guaranteed vote on withholding repeal next month; the jobs bill sailed through in minutes and went on to a conference with the House that begins tomorrow. But the very compromise that permitted final action points to the Senate's vulnerability. The repeal amendment is now attached to a different unrelated measure, a trade bill that will come up next month. Several pro-repeal members are threatening to move on the Social Security rescue package with a rider strategy.

Senate rules are based on one clear principle, crafted in an earlier and simpler age: Any Senator can speak at any length or offer any amendment at any time. The main rules include:

● Unanimous consent agreements. In effect, these are contracts under which Senators cede their right to filibuster a proposal by agreeing to debate for a set length of time before voting. Mr. Kasten considered proposing his rider to another amendment already protected by a time agreement. The chair would have ruled him out of order. He would have appealed. If he had been able to muster a majority, his rider would have become part of the time agreement and thus immune to filibuster. (That is what set Mr. Baker off, because it could have destroyed the trust that makes time agreements possible.)

● Germaneness. The Kasten amendment on withholding was not germane to the jobs bill. Even so, under current Senate rules, it could still be offered. Some senators would like to bring their procedures closer to the tighter House rules, which bar nongermane riders.

● Postcloture amendments. Senate leaders tried and failed to cut off debate on the entire jobs bill by calling for a cloture vote, which requires 60 "yea's." If they had been successful, the Kasten amendment would have been ruled out of order. Mr. Kasten would have appealed the ruling of the chair. If he had won, the precedent could have have weakened the concept of cloture.

The risk was averted this time. But the Kasten case and the prospect of others like it have prompted a new look at the ways the Senate might adapt its modern abuse the tangle of law and tradition that has evolved to govern and support their deliberations.

—STEVEN V. ROBERTS

*Conservative-Liberal Alliance Seeks Lower Deficit*

# When Means Tests Justify The End — Cutting Costs

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — Congress and the Reagan Administration have changed the character of many social programs by requiring people to demonstrate need — in some cases, severe need — as a condition of receiving cash benefits and other forms of assistance from the Government.

The changes have been made by an odd alliance of conservatives and liberals, acting from a variety of motives, but all sharing a desire to reduce the Federal deficit. A "means test" is creeping into some programs where none existed before, such as guaranteed student loans, and the test has been made stricter in other programs, such as welfare and Medicaid, that were always meant for poor people and the near-poor.

If a means test helps redistribute income from wealthy or middle-income families to poor people, then, economists say, it may enhance equity. But if the means test sharply restricts eligibility for Government benefits, many analysts agree, it may fatally undermine public support for social programs by narrowing their constituency.

Alvin L. Schorr, a social science professor at Case Western Reserve University, has observed that "programs for poor people tend to become poor programs." The programs stigmatize the recipients, he said, and they are often administered in a "demeaning and uncaring way."

There was an outcry last year when it was disclosed that the Administration was considering a means test for Medicare. The Senate adopted a resolution deploring the idea, and it died before President Reagan submitted his 1984 budget to Congress.

But with only minimal dissent, Congress is approving a fundamental change in Social Security that some see as a form of means test. The Senate last week dealt with a number of minor amendments to the bipartisan rescue plan, but a crucial vote on delaying mandatory coverage for new Federal employees was delayed until tomorrow.

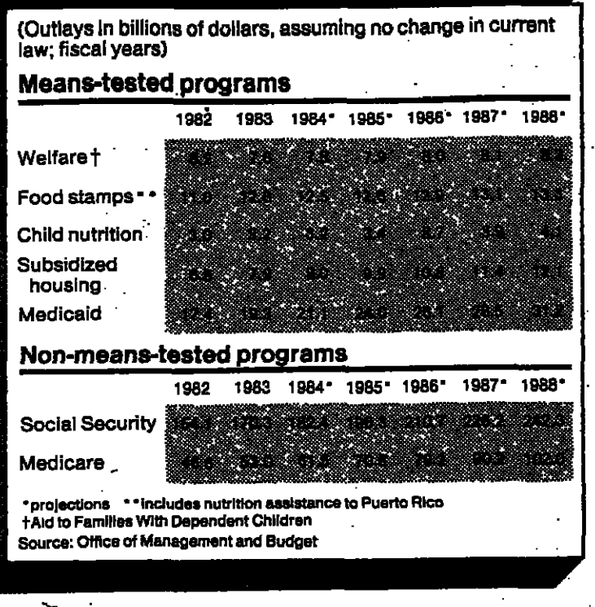
Under the compromise designed to rescue the pension system, one-half of Social Security benefits would be regarded as taxable income, but only for people in the upper-income brackets. An individual would have to pay the tax on benefits only if his annual income from all sources exceeded $25,000, and for a married couple, the threshold would be $32,000.

Robert M. Ball, a former Social Security Commissioner, insisted that this was not a means test, just sensible tax policy, which treats Social Security benefits like retirement income from private pension plans. He noted that the payment of benefits would not be contingent on a showing of need. But in a dissent attached to the House report on the bill, two Republican Representatives, Bill Archer of Texas and Philip M. Crane of Illinois, described the taxation of benefits as "one of the most offensive features" of the package.

Mr. Ball said that initially, only 10 percent of Social Security recipients would have to pay additional tax. But because the thresholds do not increase with inflation, a larger proportion of beneficiaries will probably have to pay the tax in the future. However, the House and Senate reports promised that "lower-income individuals, many of whom rely upon their benefits to afford basic necessities, will not be taxed on their benefits."

**Federal spending for social programs**

(Outlays in billions of dollars, assuming no change in current law; fiscal years)




*projections **Includes nutrition assistance to Puerto Rico
†Aid to Families With Dependent Children
Source: Office of Management and Budget

Social Security and Medicare have never been means-tested. They are regarded as social insurance programs to which a person contributes through payroll taxes over the course of his or her working life. The two programs have a vast middle-class constituency, and they have withstood the budget-cutter's scalpel much better than welfare programs for poor people.

To require a showing of financial need as a condition of receiving Medicare or Social Security would raise a host of practical as well as political problems. It is difficult to verify income for the elderly because many of them have little income and file no tax returns. If the test was based on assets, it would, in effect, force people to sell off property or exhaust their savings before they could receive benefits.

To "eliminate unintended benefits" or to reduce benefits for middle-income people, President Reagan in his first budget proposed a stricter means test in many programs. He got Congress to limit eligibility for food stamps to households with income at or below 130 percent of the poverty line. He failed in his effort to eliminate school lunch subsidies for children from middle- and upper-income families, but Congress did reduce the subsidies.

In 1981, Congress said that college students with adjusted family incomes of more than $30,000 a year must demonstrate a need for Federal aid before the Government would subsidize the interest on their loans. This year, in his latest budget, Mr. Reagan proposed to extend the "need analysis" to all students seeking loans, regardless of their family income level.

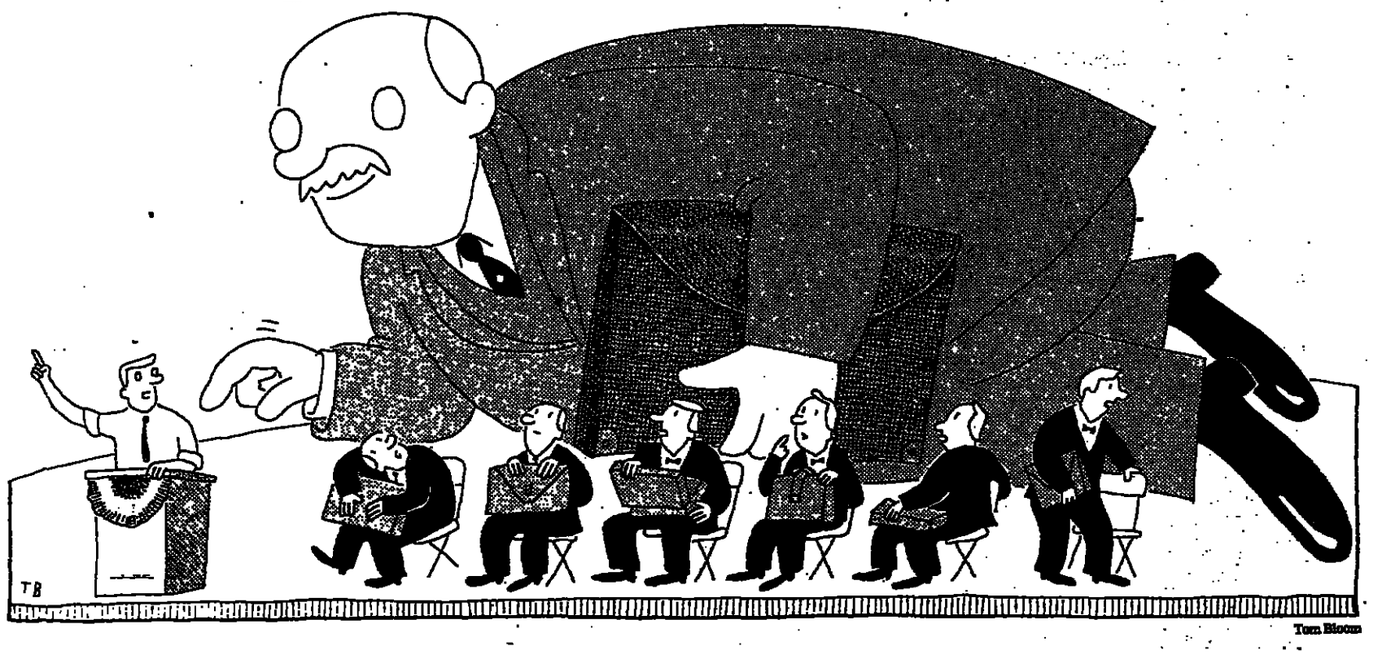
There is no test of financial need for veterans compensation, a monthly cash benefit paid to veterans with service-related disabilities. The amount of benefits depends on the degree of disability. But need is a factor in veterans pensions.

President Reagan says that a stricter means test for welfare programs permits the Government to target scarce resources to people who most need help. Liberal Democrats and other critics say that such arguments have been used as a disguise for a mean-spirited policy that made the poor bear a disproportionate share of the budget cuts. Some House Democrats are drafting legislation to restore some of the cuts made in the last two years.

But politics aside, it was inevitable that Congress and the President would look to the non-means-tested programs for savings. Smaller programs simply could not produce savings of the magnitude desired. Social Security and Medicare, together costing $223 billion this year, dwarf the means-tested programs such as Medicaid.

*Lobby Seeks Repeal of Withholding Tax on Interest, Dividends*

# Banks Speak Loudly, Carry a Big Stick



Tom Bloom

By ADAM CLYMER

WASHINGTON — The efforts of banks, savings and loans associations and credit unions to win repeal of 1982's legislation requiring withholding of taxes on interest and dividends amount to a classic case of lobbying, and then some.

As in so many other cases, Congressmen shudder at the sacks of mail they are getting on the issue, all of it on one side. One dedicated advocate of repeal, Senator Robert W. Kasten Jr., Republican of Wisconsin, tied up the Senate for more than a week, delaying action on such political necessities as extending unemployment compensation, which was attached, as was Mr. Kasten's repeal rider, to the emergency job bill that passed Thursday. Personal animosities and issues unrelated to banking dictated as many positions as did worries about widows and orphans, or about why the banks are so upset about the law that will, starting July 1, require them to send to Washington 10 percent of all interest and dividends. Previous law puts the sometimes evaded obligation to report on such income on the individual taxpayer.

But the banking lobby is a special lobby. It can probably call on more substantial constituents to get after lawmakers than the other big interests, such as the health, energy or real estate industries. Its 414 political action committees contributed $4.3 million to campaigns in 1981 and 1982. It probably supplied a lot more, less obviously, because bankers have the income to make contributions in their own names. And, unlike any other industry, bankers can lend money to members of Congress, personally and for their campaigns. As one veteran House Democrat put it last week, bluntly and only after insisting his name not be used, "There is no banker in my district who would dare loan money to my opponent. They know I'm going to win and they don't want to alienate me."

Nor do the legislators want to alienate their neighborhood bankers, whom the American Banking Association rallies to press their views on national issues so the lobbying will have a down-home touch. The withholding issue can be read as the banks would have it, as dealing with the deprivation of needy depositors of money they need to live on. Or it could be dealt with, as Senator Robert Dole has tried, as one affecting billions that the banks would no longer have to lend. But the Kansas Republican is almost alone in questioning the banks' motives. And by and large, no one is seizing the opportunity to be a demagogue.

### The Climate of the Times

The reason has to do both with the banking industry and the climate of the times. As one Washington politician put it, "Suppose some Congressman is pretty liberal, doesn't like bankers, never depended on them, and his administrative assistant, or somebody, says 'Why not take them on?' The smart one remembers that everyone who feels strongly is on the side of repeal. The opposition may be broad, but it is shallow. And the banks may never love you, but you don't want them to raise a million to beat you. And you don't want, unnecessarily, to collect antibusiness headlines. Banks are not beloved, but people don't hate them either. They aren't the oil companies."

Moreover, the banks and savings and loans have succeeded in persuading many of their customers that withholding would be a hardship. So bank critics such as Representative Parren J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maryland, angry at their success in "using the corporate structure to instill fear," still want to ponder the impact of withholding on the poor and the elderly.

There is another good reason for the legislators not to side against the banks: campaign money. That $4.3 million reached nine out of 10 members of Congress. The only neglected class was Democrats running against Republican incumbents last fall. Where the Democrat won, the oversight is being corrected. Representative Barney Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat, notes that while the thrift institutions' political action committees backed him last fall, commercial banks favored his Republican opponent, Representative M. Margaret Heckler. After his victory, the holdouts are coming through. "The commercial bankers," he said, "have discovered in me virtues heretofore dimly viewed."

For 10 members, the industry provided more than $40,000; for 25 others, it ponied up between $20,000 and $40,000. Mr. Kasten, the first-term Senator who led the charge, collected nothing from them in 1981 or 1982, when his fundraising was modest. He has said he expects to get money from them in the future.

But the letters, which have forced Congress to hire more mailmen, have caught immediate attention, even from representatives such as Guy Vander Jagt, Republican of Michigan, who notes that the banks falsely "led the people to believe it was a new tax," not just a surer way to collect an old tax. There were other reasons for the near-success of repeal. Some arch-conservatives cared less about the bank issue than about the job bill to which Mr. Kasten tried to attach it. To them, President Reagan's threat to veto the bill if repeal was added was welcome music. And few Democrats felt like helping out Mr. Dole, one of the most partisan figures in Congress; the spectacle of Republicans fighting each other is one the Senate minority relishes.

When the dispute ended in a four-week postponement, some bankers were quickly on the phone to key senators, saying it was somebody else in the bank business that had really caused all the trouble. To some big banks, for example, more money for the International Monetary Fund means a lot more than interest withholding. Some senators thought the industry, which said frankly this was the broadest effort it had ever undertaken, seemed surprised at its impact, and perhaps unsure about what to do next.

But the issue is unlikely to go away. And the bankers surely will not. As a key Senate aide put it, "They are always going to be there, and they are always going to be necessary."

# The World

## Playing Up the Civilian Side Of Military Aid



U.S. marine taking cover during attack on a patrol in Beirut last week.

Finding rough going in its campaign to persuade Congress on more military spending in El Salvador, the Reagan Administration last week switched tactics. Officials stressed benefits for civilians that would flow from its $110 million military aid package. Besides training 7,000 Salvadoran servicemen and equipping them with helicopters and other weapons, American officials said the program would support civic action in the countryside.

Salvadoran soldiers, after driving guerrillas from their strongholds, would turn to digging wells and building schools, seeking popular support in a Central American reprise of the Vietnam battle for hearts and minds.

Pope John Paul II, back in Rome after his Central American tour, assailed all foreign support for the fighting. The war was being waged, he said, "in large measure with the help of outside forces" against the will of the overwhelming majority.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz said the military effort was a "holding operation" pending political solutions to be advanced by "negotiations that make it genuinely safe and possible for people of all persuasions to take part in the democratic process." During elections in December, he suggested, international observers and the 30-country Organization of American States could insure protection. Campaigning could be conducted from the safety of broadcasting studios, officials added.

The new tack amounted to "a sea change in attitudes," said Clarence D. Long of Missouri, Democratic chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee weighing Salvadoran spending.

But Senator Mark Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, called for slashing funding and requiring "unconditional negotiations with all parties to the conflict." Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, proposed making formal the ceiling of 55 military advisers that the Administration has threatened to breach if new aid is withheld.

Secretary Shultz also deplored delays in bringing to trial the suspects in the murders of four churchwomen and other Americans killed in El Salvador. But at least one Salvadoran appeals judge wasn't listening. Last week, he ruled that F.B.I. fingerprints and ballistics evidence in the 1980 murder of the women lacked validation by Salvadoran authorities and that additional evidence was required before five soldier suspects could be brought to trial — adding months to the process.

## Lebanon Comes To Washington

A visit to Washington by high-level Israeli and Lebanese officials last week may have loosened the negotiating knot that has kept 30,000 Israeli troops in Lebanon. Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel returned home saying "we are nearer to a solution." How much nearer may be determined by the Israeli Cabinet today.

Similarly upbeat statements came from the American and Lebanese sides after the lengthy round of talks in which Secretary of State George P. Shultz met separately with Mr. Shamir and with Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem and former Prime Minister Saeb Salam. President Reagan gave everyone a pep talk on the importance of withdrawing all foreign forces from Lebanon and restoring its full sovereignty.

*Elements of an agreement on Israel's demands* for the security of its northern border, a major factor in the deadlock, may include the following: (1) training and equipment by the United States of a Lebanese force that would have direct responsibility for patrolling the border area and keeping out Palestinian guerrillas; (2) the peacekeeping force of 4,800 Americans, French, Italians and British now confined to the Beirut area would be augmented and its area of responsibility expanded to guard against infiltration into the south; (3) a commission of Lebanese, Americans and Israelis would exchange information and investigate complaints of security violations while Israel would presumably drop its demand for stationing troops at five outposts in southern Lebanon.

Still unclear was the status of another sticking point — Israel's desire for "normal" relations, including the free flow of trade across the border.

Syria was threatening to hold up the withdrawal of its 30,000 troops if some Israeli forces remained behind under the security arrangements it has been seeking. United States special envoy Philip C. Habib and his deputy, Morris Draper, were due back in the Middle East this week to try to wrap up an agreement which the Administration hoped would be acceptable to Syria.

Looking beyond Lebanon to an overall Mideast settlement, Mr. Habib paused in London yesterday to *confer with Jordan's King Hussein*, a reluctant Arab player in an American-proposed negotiation to establish a Palestinian entity linked to his kingdom. The King said he would meet with Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, this week before making a final decision on joining such talks.

## Injuries and Insults

The hazards of peacekeeping in Lebanon were never more apparent than last week. Unknown assailants in Beirut wounded five American marines and eight Italian soldiers in hit-and-run grenade and small arms attacks on units of the 4,800-man multinational force. Three Italians were seriously injured, but the marines, protected by flak jackets, were only superficially hurt. French sentries escaped a separate grenade-tossing unharmed. Western diplomats said the attackers might have been Shiite Moslem followers of Ayatollah Rubollah Khomeini.

The incidents coincided with a new — but unrelated — burst of bad feeling between American and Israeli defense officials. The Marine Corps commandment, Gen. Robert H. Barrow, complained in a letter to Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger that Israeli forces in Lebanon had "harassed, endangered and degraded" American marines and soldiers.

No one was hurt. General Barrow said the incidents were "timed, orchestrated and executed for obtuse Israeli political purposes."

Israel issued a point-by-point denial of the allegations. The Israelis noted that they had not clashed with French or Italian units in Lebanon and said that this was because the Europeans' field officers had regular contacts with Israeli counterparts, an arrangement Mr. Weinberger has rejected. Israel also charged that the United States was not honoring an agreement delineating patrol zones. All incidents, Jerusalem asserted, had occurred in Israeli-designated zones.

## The High Cost Of Consolation

It could have been worse. That was the chief consolation for France's governing coalition of Socialists and their Communist junior partners last week after two rounds of municipal voting brought the loss of 30 major cities. Socialist leaders interpreted the results as a warning and President François Mitterrand was expected to heed it with a Cabinet shakeup and the adoption of more conservative economic policies.

In the final round last Sunday, leftists recouped considerably in the overall popular vote and managed to hold on to Marseilles, their biggest stronghold, where Interior Minister Gaston Defferre had governed for 30 years (usually against the Communists rather than with them).

On the other hand, former conservative Prime Minister Jacques Chirac maintained his hold on Paris, sweeping all 20 arrondissements and strengthening his claim to leadership of the national opposition.

Mr. Chirac, who would like to be president, won't get a chance until 1988 so Mr. Mitterrand has time to turn the faltering economy around. The zeal for reform that characterized the Socialist regime's beginnings in 1981 is likely to give way to more austerity as the Government grapples with inflation, lack of business confidence and mounting trade deficits — all of which is expected to strain, if not break, the Socialist-Communist partnership and increase labor unrest.

In West Germany, the Christian Democrats continued their success story a week after their national victory by retaining their hold last Sunday on the state of Schleswig-Holstein. The Social Democrats had fought hard to rebuild their morale with an upset victory but with 12.3 percent unemployment, voters followed the national trend and put their faith in the Christian Democrats' promise of better times.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Giniger

*New Drop in Oil Prices Could Challenge Country's Stability*

# Mexico Has Dominoes Of Its Own to Worry Over

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY — The decision by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to cut oil prices last week was anything but good news for Mexico, which is caught in its worst financial crisis in memory and remains as dependent on oil sales as it was during the boom years.

Although not an OPEC member, Mexico immediately adjusted its prices and is counting on maintaining export levels of 1.5 million barrels a day and saving perhaps $1.5 billion this year on its debt payments through lower interest rates. But the country seems unable to avoid a continuing economic contraction, accompanied by high inflation, mounting unemployment and social tensions. The Government's main objective is to preserve the political stability that has been the envy of other Latin American countries.

The question uppermost in the minds of nervous officials is whether Mexico can afford the political cost of the economic austerity program now being implemented. Since the Mexican Revolution of 1910 to 1917, it has never known either galloping inflation or zero economic growth. And for much of the population, purchasing power may well be halved during 1983. This debacle follows a boom in which the consumerist expectations of all but the poorest Mexicans increased dramatically.

Conservative voices in the United States, alarmed by events in Central America, have warned that a Mexico-in-crisis could become the next "domino" assailed by Soviet-backed forces. Mexican officials privately concede that the population could react angrily against the unprecedented economic hardship. But, so far, political peace has not been disturbed.

"Mexico is a very strong domino and will not be easily toppled," President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado told a group of visiting American publishers last week. The President acknowledged that Mexico is going through its worst crisis in half a century. But "Mexicans are trained to deal with crises," he declared, "and our political, economic and legal institutions are solid."

The President's assurances notwithstanding, the domestic economic situation has made the country's mood pessimistic. Even though Mr. de la Madrid inherited the crisis last December, he has not enjoyed the honeymoon of an incoming administration. Nor has he courted public opinion; from the moment he took office, he ordered the price increases and spending cuts needed to stabilize the economy.

Mexico was of course not alone in seeing its hopes for economic recovery visibly dimmed by last week's developments. Even the wealthy Gulf States, for example, will be forced to cut spending. But it was the oil exporters with large populations, significant industry and heavy foreign debts — such as Mexico, Venezuela and Nigeria — that suffered the most serious setback.

Mexico's extraordinary vulnerability to the vagaries of the world oil market became apparent when oil prices fell in June 1981. On that occasion the Government made up for lost revenues through massive short-term borrowing abroad. But it then found it could not repay these loans and last year was forced into repeated devaluations of its currency.

Now, however, foreign banks are not willing to save the day again. They did come up with a $5 billion credit earlier this month, but there was only muffled applause from Mexico. The loan was designed to enable the country to cover interest payments on its $85 billion foreign debt and not to cushion the domestic impact of the crisis. This time, at least, Mexico must pay for its own economic mismanagement.

Mexico is also concerned about the political tension and violence in Central America, as the President indicated to the publishers. But the argument that Central America's troubles could spread here seems to Mexicans to ignore the fact that the crises in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala are rooted in clearly identifiable domestic situations in which political repression has played a more crucial role than endemic poverty. Mexico enjoys considerably more political freedom and faces no leftist guerrilla threat.

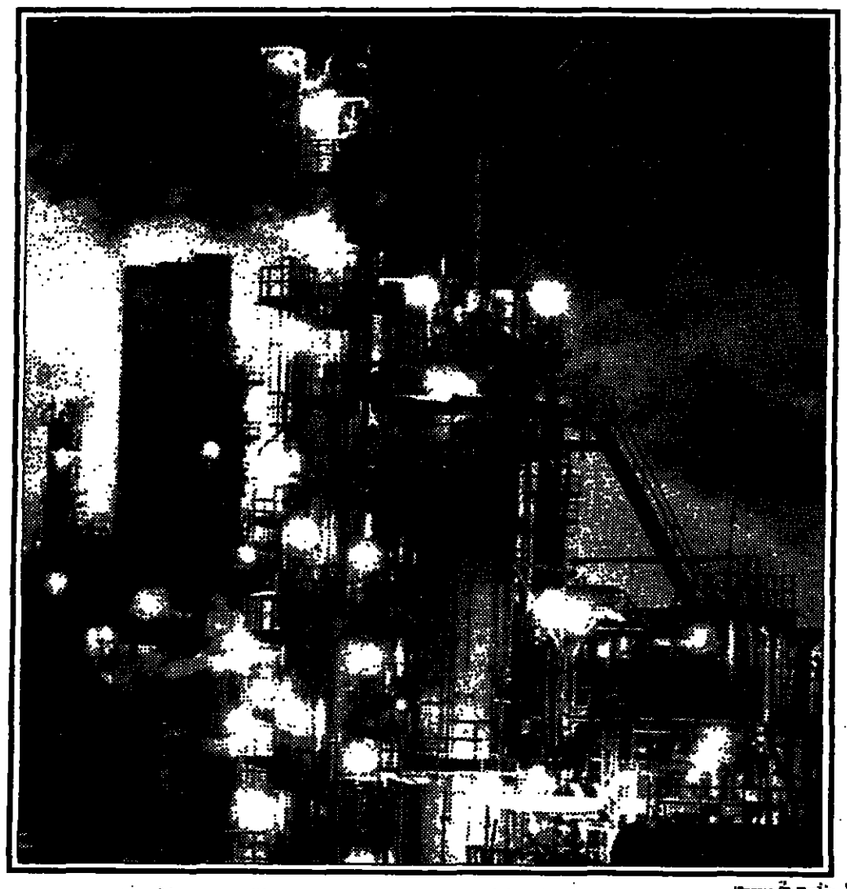
But the real strength of Mexico's political system lies less in its ability to resist outside pressure than in its talent in controlling key domestic forces. The Institutional Revolutionary Party, which has been in power since 1929, still dominates the labor and peasant movements and, through corruption, cooption or occasional repression, has prevented the emergence of significant anti-Government factions.

Other influential groups, including the private sector and leftist and rightist opposition parties, also function almost as appendages to the ruling political bureaucracy.

By retaining the political initiative, the Government and its party have prevented any major opposition from taking shape. The labor movement, the most powerful political force in the country, seems willing to accept a drop in real wages in order to save jobs. Leftist parties fear that popular unrest would bring repression and are avoiding agitation. Rightist parties are linked to business interests which are looking to the Government for economic relief during the crisis.

Any threat to stability thus seems more likely to come through an explosion of discontent than through organized opposition. Apparently aware of the danger, the Government has avoided increases in public transportation fares or the price of corn tortillas, which could spark angry protests in urban slums. In this and other cases, the Government has concluded that high subsidies are a low price to pay for political tranquility.

While the de la Madrid administration remains determined to continue to dispense its bitter medicine, it is watching the body politic carefully for any dangerous side-effects. It is reluctant, however, to test the population's tolerance much further than it already has. Any signs of unrest or further drops in projected oil revenues would likely prompt it to turn abroad for more credit. Facing the unwelcome prospect of instability, the United States and even foreign banks may see little choice but to be forthcoming



Bypass Dr. Taylor

A petrochemical complex in Mexico.

*Elections Abroad Point Up U.S. Lag in Turnout, and Some Theories*

# Why Everyone Else Seems to Vote

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.

PARIS — In European elections, people vote in droves. This month in West Germany, 89.1 percent of the registered voters cast ballots. Turnout exceeded 79 percent Sunday in the second round of French municipal elections. Nor is the phenomenon confined to Europe; in Australia a couple of weeks ago, more than 90 percent of eligible voters got to the polls.

In comparison, the 53.95 percent turnout in the 1980 American Presidential election (the lowest in 32 years) looks rather anemic. Why do free elections abroad excite and involve the citizenry so much more than they seem to in the United States? The question is debated by political scientists and there are disagreements about the comparability of European turnout rates.

Ivor Crewe of the University of Essex in Britain has ranked the United States 27th in turnout among 28 countries that have voted regularly since 1945. In Europe, only Switzerland's rate was as low. Some of the differences are easily explained. In countries with 90 percent turnout, voting usually is compulsory and nonparticipants face fines. In Italy, where voting is not compulsory, Mr. Crewe noted that "DID NOT VOTE" stamped on a citizen's identification papers amounts to a bureaucratic scarlet letter.

There are other reasons for the discrepancy. Jean-Luc Parodi, a leading political scientist and consultant for the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique, says American turnout rates look lower because of the way they are reckoned.

In Europe, turnout is a percentage of registered voters but the American percentage is based on a much larger group — everyone 18 years old and up, registered or not. Therefore, Mr. Parodi said, "the differences are less great than they seem."

For example, official results in Sunday's French municipal elections showed 79.7 percent of registered voters taking part. But 11.3 percent of the potential voters were not registered. Revising the figures along American lines, the French turnout, although still impressive for municipal elections, drops to 69 percent.

Richard C. Moe at the Congressional Research Service in Washington contends that when the comparison is limited to registered voters, "Our turnout is equal to or better than Europe's." The larger "potential voter" group, he added, includes illegal aliens and felons not eligible to vote.

Most political scientists agreed, in telephone interviews, that Europe's participation lead over the United States is overstated, but they contended that arguments such as Mr. Moe's go too far. Professor Crewe at Essex and others note that in many democracies, voters are automatically registered when they reach voting age.

"We're one of the few democracies in the world that puts the entire burden for registering on the citizen and not on the state," said Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

Registration lists are far more complete elsewhere than in the United States and voters in other democracies have to go to much less trouble to exercise their rights. For Mr. Moe, on the other hand, the right *not to register or vote* "is a tremendous American right."

Other technical factors are often cited to explain high turnouts outside the United States. Many European countries make voting easy by holding elections on Sundays. Italians vote on Saturdays and Sundays.

In Australia, voters can show up at any polling place in their state to cast their ballot. In New Zealand, they may vote anywhere in the country, including polling places at race tracks.

Then there are the sociological and political explanations. Mr. Crewe argues that American turnout is low "because you lack a proper trade union movement allied with a major party." He noted that parties with ties to other institutions — labor parties allied with unions or Christian Democrats allied with the Roman Catholic Church — get help from these institutions in turning out the faithful.

Walter Dean Burnham at Massachusetts Institute of Technology believes that a "giant hole in the electorate" has been created in the United States by the absence of a European-style Social Democratic Party that would forcefully represent the interests of the poor and of blue-collar workers — and thus bring them to the polls.

Other political scientists contend that European parties cover a broader range of opinion than America's Republicans and Democrats. Countries with proportional representation — alloting seats in national legislatures even to splinter groups — thus make it more likely that a single vote will carry weight.

Austin Ranney of the American Enterprise Institute has a simpler explanation. Americans, he says, are asked to vote in too many elections. "Switzerland, which many people say is the most democratic country in the world, also has a turnout rate comparable with ours," he said. "And Switzerland, like the United States, has many more elections and referendums than other countries."

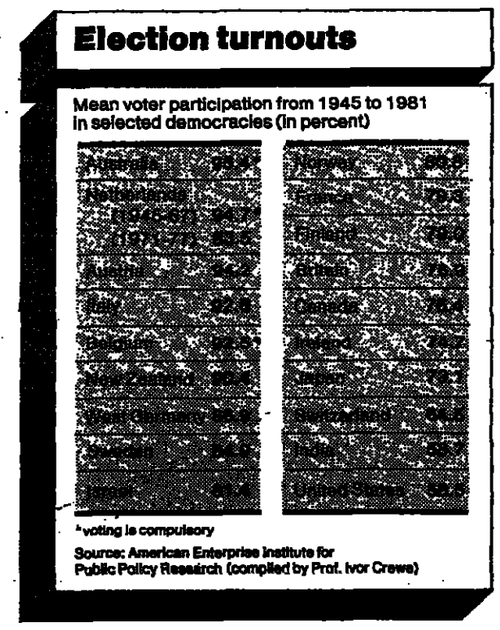
French voters will probably not be asked to make any major voting decisions until the 1986 parliamentary elections.

But Americans usually have more than one election — a primary and a general — each year, Mr. Ranney said. They often must choose candidates for 20 or 30 offices and also decide referendum questions. Too much voting, according to this view, may be a bad thing for democracy.

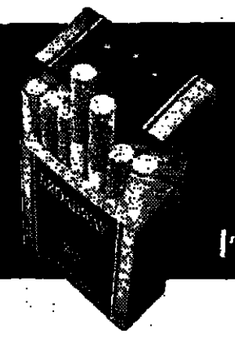
"Low turnouts aren't necessarily bad if they're still reasonably representative of the electorate," said Steven J. Rosenstone of Yale University.

"But are there groups that politicians feel comfortable ignoring because they don't vote?" he asked. "There probably are, and that's a problem."

It is solved by compulsory voting in places such as Australia, but at the cost of the right to send a message by staying home on election day.




BROADWAY 80



I'm glad I changed.

Please place in litter-basket when you finish. Keep Israel tidy.

*Poles Keep Their Heads Down, Awaiting the Next Economic Explosion*

# Solidarity Now a Cause Without Rebels

By JOHN KIFNER

GDANSK, Poland — It was a crowd looking for a leader. All around the huge monument Solidarity erected to honor workers shot to death during riots over food prices in 1970, people gathered last week in small clumps waiting for something to happen. Most of the workers streaming out of the Lenin Shipyard, where the independent trade union movement that rocked the foundations of Communist rule was born 2½ years ago, just kept on walking. But gradually, the crowd grew to about a thousand, bravely chanting "Solidarnosc, Solidarnosc." Then, on a warning over a police loudspeaker, it dispersed.

In 15 months since the military takeover by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the authorities have succeeded in crushing the leadership and organization of Solidarity. Some of the spirit that once caught the dreams of 10 million Poles is still alive. There were other small demonstrations last weekend in Warsaw and Wroclaw. But the spirit has little tactical outlet and is turning into stubborn but ineffective resentment. The overriding reality is what Poles always refer to as their "raison d'état" — a fancy way of saying that if things ever got out of hand, Soviet troops would come rolling across the border. Given this threat, and the muscle — including 25,000 tough special riot police called ZOMO's — that General Jaruzelski was able to employ against Solidarity, it was not remarkable that the first independent trade union in the Eastern bloc was broken, but rather that it was able to so shake the system.

The Gdansk monument, for example, is an astounding symbol. It commemorates workers killed by the authorities as they protested the system's failures, which are still at the heart of their grievances. Even now, the authorities are forced to pay lip service to Solidarity's origins, calling it a legitimate worker's movement that was "hijacked" by dissident intellectuals.

But the job of putting down Solidarity pales before the task of putting the country back in order. The Government has little support, as many officials ruefully admit in public. Communist Party membership has plummeted because of resignations. General Jaruzelski's pet project, a good-citizens advisory group, is the butt of jokes when it is noticed at all. The new tame trade unions have a miniscule membership. The party itself is believed to be undergoing a bitter behind-the-scenes struggle among hardliners, less over ideology than to preserve their privileges.

## Stealing on the Railroad

The central problem is the wrecked economy. Much of this is due to the unfortunate Edward Gierek, the deposed party leader, who built factories dependent on imported raw materials just before the Shah of Iran began to jack up oil prices. Everywhere there is disaster. The forests are crashing down from a moth infestation. Railroads are falling apart and trainmen are stealing so much that huge police and army raids on rail yards are being organized. Boosterish items in the official press about preparing spring planting are swiftly followed by news of seed shortages. There is little likelihood, some experts say, that Poland will be able to pay even the interest on its $26 billion debt to the West for three years.

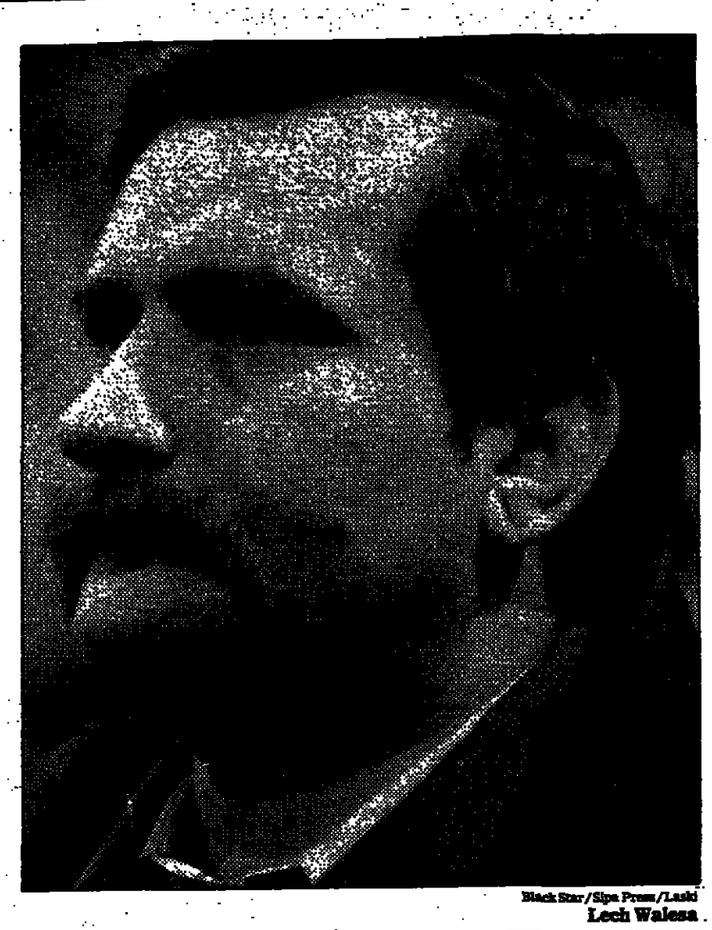
Government efforts at economic reform only bring more trouble. A scheme to reduce lollygagging by a well-paid program of early retirement caused a crippling labor shortage, particularly in senior skilled positions, in many industries.

Although middle-level bureaucrats have largely managed to frustrate the decentralization that was to be the heart of reform, local managers have taken full advantage of their new power to raise prices. Rewards to key workers, particularly coal miners and private farmers, have resulted in a glut of worthless zlotys because the economy cannot produce what they want to buy. A tax crackdown on private enterprises is causing much of the economy's only productive sector to close up. Private restaurants, for example, are shutting down.

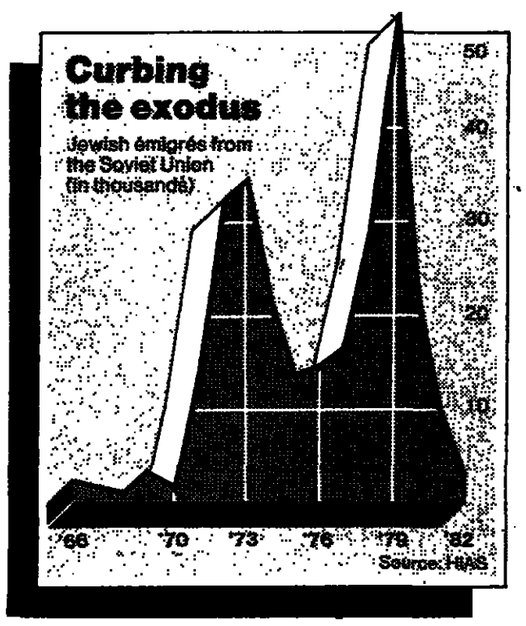
Postwar Poland has a cyclical history of workers revolts, primarily touched off by price increases, with narrowing cycles — 1956, 1970, 1976, 1980. The tripling of many prices in February 1982 has been followed by a slow rise in wages often accompanied by a much larger rise in prices that has left workers even further behind. Last week, new increases were announced in several items, most noticeably gasoline, which will reverberate through the economy. Coffee, which a few months ago cost 600 zlotys (about $7) a kilogram, has risen to 1,400 and this week will go to 3,200 zlotys. It will no longer be rationed, but this is somewhat academic since coffee has not been seen in the stores for weeks. Even Government offices have lost their special allotment for conferences and visitors.

Many Poles are now putting their faith in the visit of Pope John Paul II in June, apparently hoping that, in some way, this will make a difference. Exactly how is not clear. Indeed, it was the agreement between the Polish Primate, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, and General Jaruzelski on the papal visit that undercut Solidarity's strike in November. Since the church took a more accommodating line, the Communist Government has all but wrapped itself in ecclesiastical garments, asserting that the visit means recognition and an end to international isolation.

Lech Walesa, perhaps overstimulated by Western television cameras, said before the latest demonstrations that the time had come for a new, tougher line, protests and strikes. "I have rested and I should act more strongly," he said. But the shrewdness that once kept the Solidarity leader a step ahead of the authorities seems to have deserted him after nearly a year of solitary internment. He has appeared enigmatic, vacillating, uncertain, caught, as he put it, "on a greased tightrope above a prison yard." He said later he had nothing to do with the demonstrations and that they were perhaps the work of Government agents. "Lech has become stupid," said an old and disillusioned friend, a strike leader recently released from confinement. Slapping his forehead, he added, "He's just like Glemp."



Black Star/Sipa Press/Laski
Lech Walesa




*Conference in Israel Last Week Explored and Deplored Reasons*

# Moscow Once Again Closes Gates on Jewish Emigration

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

MOSCOW — About 30 Moscow Jews and a few Westerners gathered in a private apartment recently to mark Purim with poetry and amateur theatricals. The players shifted easily from Russian to Hebrew, and some members of the hopelessly cramped audience joined in the songs. Even the children readily recognized Queen Esther and the other characters in the ancient legend of how Persian Jews triumphed over a devious plot to massacre them by the wicked Haman, done up for the evening as a Palestinian guerrilla.

Such familiarity with Jewish culture may have been a novelty in the Soviet Union two decades ago, but now it almost seemed natural. So did less happy elements of the evening. Many of those present had applied to emigrate and were refused, and others were weighing the wisdom of applying when the gates seemed to be closing shut. Only 125 Soviet Jews left in February, less than left on an average day during the peak year of 1979. Despite the songs and wit and the biblical injunction to celebrate Purim with feasting and joy, the tension in the room was palpable. Shortly before the people arrived, a plainclothesman had come and warned the host, Valery Soifer, a biochemist-refusenik, against having the party. Whenever the doorbell rang, the guests fell silent and fixed their eyes on the door.

The open celebration of a Jewish feast, the tension, the pervasive presence of the emigration question were all familiar aspects of the change in the lives of Soviet Jews since the Soviet Union first lowered a narrow drawbridge and started letting Jews out a dozen years ago. No one seems to know exactly how or why it began. The six-day war of 1967 is generally recognized as a turning point in the self-esteem of Russian Jews and in their identification with Israel. "There was a sense of colossal national rehabilitation," recalled Naum Meiman, a 72-year-old physicist and human rights activist.

But it remains unclear what prevailed on Leonid I. Brezhnev to start releasing Jews. Perhaps he thought it would relieve some of the internal pressures building since the 1967 war. More likely, he calculated that the gesture would be perceived as humanitarian and that the United States would respond with more détente and trade.

What happened was quite different. The emigration issue became an emotional and volatile crusade among Jews in the United States and Israel. The Jackson amendment to the 1975 trade act denied Moscow any preferential treatment in trade with the United States unless more Jews were released. Western opinion, instead of rewarding Soviet leaders, assessed the emigration issue as a cynical barter of people's liberty for political and economic benefits. Inside the Soviet Union, the issue took a *course also probably not foreseen by the Kremlin. Mr.* Brezhnev may well have expected that once the more fervent supporters of Israel were gone, the gates could be shut and the majority of the Soviet Union's two million Jews would continue on the path to assimilation. Instead, every released family inspired more to apply and expectations swelled. Jews who were refused emigration shifted inexorably to the ranks of dissidents; some moved on to the ranks of political prisoners. A movement was born.

## Jews as a Commodity

To help keep the movement alive, 1,500 delegates gathered in Jerusalem last week at the World Conference on Soviet Jewry, the third since 1971. The conference sought to devise ways to stimulate Western pressure on the Kremlin to free Jewish prisoners and reopen the gates to emigration.

About 260,000 Jews have left since 1970. The departures, coupled with a natural decline, decreased the Jewish population in the Soviet Union from 2,151,000 in 1970, or just under 9 percent of the population, to 1,811,000, or less than 7 percent. The fact that two-thirds ended up in the United States rather than in Israel has sometimes been seen as a factor in the numbers released but this is generally discounted. "The total freeze on emigration only proves that Jews are seen as a commodity," Professor Meiman said. "It clearly shows that since relations with the United States are in very bad shape, they see no need to let us out." The pattern of emigration seems to bear out Mr. Meiman's contention that the number of visas has been from the outset a barometer of Soviet-American relations, or at least of Soviet hopes for those relations. It began with the unexpected release of 13,000 in 1971. Then the SALT arms agreement was signed and the first big wheat deal struck, and the figures climbed to 32,000 in 1972 and 35,000 in 1973.

The Jackson amendment cooled the process and numbers declined — 21,000 in 1974, 13,000 in 1975, 14,000 in 1976 and 17,000 in 1977. In 1977 too, perhaps as a reaction to President Carter's declarations on human rights, the Russians arrested Anatoly Shcharansky and levied the toughest charges *against a post-war dissident, espionage and* treason. But with new wheat deals and SALT 2, the figures rose again, to 29,000 in 1978 and 51,000 in 1979. Then came Afghanistan, the embargoes, President Reagan, and the visas dried up.

The numbers, of course, can be juggled to fit other patterns. Total secrecy surrounds the entire process of deciding who goes, when and in what numbers. The official Soviet stance, as reporterd by Radio Moscow last year, is that there are no restrictions on leaving the Soviet Union and "nearly all those applying for permission, or approximately 98.4 percent, according to latest statistics, leave very soon." The remaining 1.6 percent, the broadcast said, were delayed because they had been in possession of state secrets.

Jewish sources say about 10,000 familes have applied to leave, but note that such figures have become academic because the Soviet authorities have taken to holding up the critical invitation from a close relative abroad *without which the tedious process of applying for an exit* visa cannot begin. Many refuseniks have been unable to renew their applications because their original invitations have expired and no new ones have come. The attitude of the new Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, is the subject of speculation and there is a suspicion that officials have closed off the issuance of visas pending new guidance.

*U.S. Court Claim Against Old Railroad Bonds Chills Diplomatic Relations*

# Separation of Powers? You Must Be Kidding, Says China

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

PEKING — Only months before China's last imperial dynasty collapsed in 1911, it sold bonds to foreigners to finance a railroad to complete a 562-mile north-south link between Peking and Canton and reach an equal distance westward toward Chongqing (Chungking). The Nationalist Government paid the interest periodically until 1939. Now the 72-year-old bonds, once considered worthless, have emerged as the latest irritant in Washington's strained relationship with Peking.

The Huguang Railway bonds prove that the best-laid plans of diplomats can be undermined by seemingly irrelevant events. In September, nine Americans won a $41.3 million judgment in a Federal court in Alabama when China ignored their claim to the principal and interest on the long-expired bonds.

The court's default judgment was much less than the $100 million originally sought, but the Chinese Government has made clear that it won't pay a penny. When Secretary of State George P. Shultz visited Peking last month, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian handed him a note rejecting "the arbitrary judgment" and demanding that the United States dispose of the case.

The Chinese press has repeatedly attacked the United States for letting the suit go this far. "The U.S. Government will not be able to shirk its international responsibility for all grave consequences arising from this case," warned The People's Daily. Two weeks ago, North Korea added its own denunciation of the Alabama court decision as "an insult to the dignity of the Chinese people."

At the heart of the issue lies the belief of China, North Korea and other Marxist regimes that law courts exist to support the state. Writing in The People's Daily, a Chinese legal expert, Fu Zhu, complained that Washington had offered "the excuse that the United States institutes the separation of powers and its Government is not in a position to interfere in a judicial verdict. This argument is certainly not convincing."

Peking is worried about more than than saving face, since it has thought of issuing its own bonds abroad. The brouhaha over the Qing Dynasty bonds could undercut its financial reputation. But beyond this, the case of the Huguang Railway bonds raises such a profusion of legal issues that Jerome A. Cohen, a leading American specialist in Chinese law, calls it "a law professor's dream."

Until 1976, the United States agreed that sovereign nations were immune from legal suits. But then it followed the lead of other Western nations in deciding that this did not apply to a country's commercial activities.

## Blaming Colonialism

China does not accept such restricted sovereignty. The People's Daily insisted that "this is in utter violation of the principle of sovereignty, equality of all states and the U.N. Charter and sets a precedent for indiscriminate suits against foreign countries." Peking makes a clear distinction between the state and state-owned corporations, which it admits do not enjoy legal immunity. However, China has also invoked the unusual concept of "odious debts," which it says were forced on the Qing Dynasty by rapacious Western colonialists. The Huguang Railway bonds were negotiated with the United States, Britain, Germany and France in May 1911. "To recognize and repay the debts is to negate the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people during the more than 100 years since the opium war and this will never be accepted by the Chinese Government and people," Mr. Fu argued.

Peking's stubbornness has foreclosed more practical options. It could have referred the suit to the Nationalist Government on Taiwan, which paid interest on the bonds up to a decade before it was driven from the mainland by the Communists. But this would have meant implicitly acknowledging legitimacy for the regime in an entity China treats as a rebel province. Peking has insisted that it is heir to all the rights of the old Republic of China, starting with its seat in the United Nations. But it is choosier about the obligations. "The Chinese Government recognizes no external debts incurred by the defunct Chinese Governments and has no obligations to repay them," said the note Mr. Wu gave Mr. Shultz.

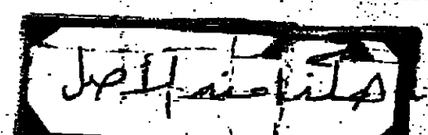



Detail from a Huguang Railways gold bond of 1911.

China might have also asked why the plaintiffs did not sue when the bonds defaulted long ago. "If the Chinese had appeared in court, they would have won the case, because the case was too old,' said Mr. Cohen, who formerly taught at Harvard Law School. But this would have meant accepting the doctrine of limited sovereignty and risking an adverse decision.

Peking has hinted it would retaliate if anyone tried to collect compensation. Under existing American laws, assets attached must relate to the activity that caused the suit. Since the defaulted bonds were floated to build a railroad, the plaintiffs could conceivably seek a court order to seize a Chinese aircraft or freighter in the United States. China might then grab an American plane or ship and it could also sue for damages. "It could cause a lot of mischief," Mr. Cohen said. "It is an uncharted sea."

It is not too late for the Chinese to go into United States courts to appeal for the default judgment to be set aside. But Peking seemed unlikely to do so after having demanded that the Reagan Administration dispose of the *matter. This leaves both sides little opportunity to defuse* a conflict that neither sought. The Huguang Railway bonds have taken a place alongside the defection of the tennis star Hu Na last summer and the unilateral quotas imposed on Chinese imports this winter as issues, modest by themselves, that have cooled Chinese-American relations. This grabbag of frictions would not be serious but for the tensions over American military sales to Taiwan. As a popular Chinese proverb says, "It takes more than one cold day for the river to freeze."





Gamma-Liaison

On the march from one of his two London homes to an OPEC meeting.

هكذا من الاصل

# The Economy

**OPEC POET:** Mani Said al-Otaiba

## Oil Minister Poem Stole Show

By PAUL LEWIS

PARIS

After all was said and done, it was Sheik Mani Said al-Otaiba, the diminutive 37-year-old oil minister from the United Arab Emirates, who captured the OPEC spotlight last week. It was his poem, distributed during the closing hours of the cartel's cantankerous London meeting, that seemed to cause more hard feelings among his colleagues than the discord over prices.

But while his rhymed lament about OPEC's langourous negotiating habits — to say nothing of the obstinacy of his Nigerian colleagues — has become his best-known work, it is arguably not his most important piece of writing.

That distinction belongs to one short passage in his published Ph.D. thesis, which marked him as one of the first Arabs to say publicly that it was the Nixon Administration that encouraged the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to quadruple world oil prices in 1973 by suggesting that the West had few, if any, alternatives to Arab oil.

The dissertation soon became a key document in the once fierce controversy that raged in Washington some years ago over whether the United States itself was responsible for the first oil price explosion and the decade of recession that followed it.

While the debate has been long forgotten, the same cannot be said of Sheik Otaiba. He has been the U.A.E.'s Oil Minister since the ripe young age of 27 and has had a ringside seat during a decade of rising oil prices. Now he is watching the phenomenon go into reverse — and in style.

Today, Sheik Otaiba, who comes from one of the U.A.E.'s wealthiest merchant families, owns two luxurious residences off London's Grosvenor Square, is building himself a new palace in Abu Dhabi, complete with bullet-proof windows, and is said to have four wives, all younger than himself. When in the Middle East, he dresses in traditional Arab robes, but when in Europe he dons high-fashion suits, often with a gold chain adorning his vest. He occasionally even brings the traditional Arabian hunting bird along with him on airplanes — first class.

There is nothing surprising about all this. The U.A.E. — a lose confederation of tiny princely states each governed by their traditional sheiks — is a country with more money than people to spend it. Although the total population is put at just over one million (including migrant workers), there are at most 250,000 citizens. Oil income, which soared to $19 billion in 1980, was a still-respectable $12 billion last year. The result is a welfare state gone wild, where, in addition to free education and health care, citizens are also entitled to free land for a house and business as well as financing in the form of loans at one-half of 1 percent interest.

As a young man Sheik Otaiba caught the eye of Sheik Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahiyan, the ruler of Abu Dhabi and President of the U.A.E. It is he who named the young man oil minister and who was responsible for Sheik Otaiba's rise. Although not himself of royal blood, Sheik Otaiba has all the attributes of a ruling sheik in what is one of the world's last benevolent despotisms, including a private jet, three Rolls-Royces and a Majlis, or special gathering place where any citizen may come personally to ask him a favor or seek redress for a wrong.

All the same, his stewardship of the nation's oil wealth has not been easy. Dubai, the second richest of the Emirates, sells most of its oil on the spot market and rarely listens to U.A.E. officials such as Sheik Otaiba. He also has to contend with the so-called "Algerian mafia," which manages the oil fields in Abu Dhabi, the other wealthy state in the confederation. These are the Algerian technicians who pushed hardest to open up the big new Zakum offshore field, which cost some $5 billion and will double U.A.E. production by adding another million barrels of oil a day. The wisdom of the investment, now that both prices and consumption are on the decline, seems doubtful today.

The oil market was entirely different only a few years ago, when Sheik Otaiba was at the University of Cairo writing a thesis entiled "OPEC and the Petroleum Industry." The Sheik helped focus attention on the famous "impromptu speech" made by James Akins, then a top State Department official and later Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, at a meeting of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries in June 1972.

Mr. Akins told the assembled oil ministers and experts from the big Arab oil producers that oil prices could be "expected to go up sharply due to lack of short-term alternatives to Arab oil," according to the reports carried by Petroleum Intelligence Weekly, a trade magazine. Higher oil prices, Mr. Akins added, were "an unavoidable trend."

For those who believe in the conspiracy theory of the first oil price shock, Mr. Akins's speech was, in effect, an attempt by the Nixon White House to encourage OPEC to raise oil prices to encourage domestic production and give American industry a competitive advantage over Europe and Japan, which were both more dependent on OPEC oil than the United States. This is certainly how Sheik Otaiba saw it, arguing in his thesis that it convinced Arab producers that the United States felt "the world will be ready to accept considerable increases in prices." Another Westerner at the meeting, A. P. H. Van Meurs, who represented Canada, concurred, saying the Akins speech amounted to "advocating that the Arabs raise the price of oil to $5 a barrel," which is precisely what happened.

For his part, Sheik Otaiba has played a conciliator's role since becoming involved with OPEC. He has repeatedly tried to restrain such militant OPEC members as Iraq, Iran and Lybia, which consistently called for steep price increases when oil prices were on the rise. In this capacity he has been a staunch ally of Saudi Arabia and Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani.

Despite a slight stammer, he enjoys bantering with reporters at OPEC meetings — and it's clear he has a shrewd salesman's eye for publicity. Right now his family's exclusive British Leyland dealership in the U.A.E. is probably not among its most lucrative investments. But as the London OPEC meeting dragged on day after day, he did his best to boost B.L.'s ailing fortunes by ditching his British Lagonda and turning up for the sessions in B.L.'s Range Rover instead.

Sheik Otaiba has watched a decade of rising prices for oil. Now the tide has changed

**INVESTING** / Fred R. Bleakley

## Foreign Stocks May Shine, Too

A recovery in the U.S. should make other economies follow suit. Many big markets are perking up already.

NOW is the time for investors to slice off some of their profits from Wall Street and invest abroad, say portfolio managers of mutual funds that specialize in overseas markets. Japanese, Dutch and West German stocks have moved up and may be at the start of a prolonged bull market. Even Australia and Spain, after being shunned by foreign investors, are favorites of some top money men.

The reason, according to mutual fund managers who specialize in overseas stock markets, is that if the American economy continues to recover, other economies will follow and their markets will move up sharply.

It's not that these funds have done particularly well lately. They were left in the dust last year by funds that invest at home and that reaped the huge gains of the 1982 bull market. And they still are lagging. From the first of the year through late last week, the 13 international mutual funds tracked by Lipper Analytical Services were ahead 6.19 percent, compared with an 8.99 percent gain for the 358 equity funds that invest in the United States.

But the gap is narrowing and international fund managers are increasing their equity investments overseas. Walter Oechsle, who oversees management of the Putnam International Fund, is betting heavily on the West German and Japanese markets, even though the fund has the option of being 100 percent invested in American stocks. And Nicholas Bratt, executive vice president of the Scudder International Fund, points out that foreign markets are just beginning to keep pace with the United States market because of the spreading belief that the economic recovery is actually here.

A United States economic rebound is crucial for a recovery abroad. Equally important to the health of foreign markets is the course of United States interest rates. If the rates stay down, foreign currencies should strengthen against the dollar. This alone would increase the value of the international funds because their holdings are denominated in foreign currencies and could be converted into more dollars.

The outlook is becoming so promising, the fund managers say, that several key European markets are perking up for the first time since the mid-1970's. In the Netherlands, Mr. Bratt notes that investors are bidding up shares of well-known companies such as Philips, Heineken and KLM. The Scudder fund has 13 percent of its $92 million portfolio invested in those and other Dutch companies, including Gist-Brocades, a biotechnology company, Akzo, a chemical company, and Ahold, a supermarket chain.

Mr. Bratt is not alone in considering the Netherlands an undervalued market. John Templeton, perhaps the most successful international investor, ranks the Netherlands as one of the world's most attractive markets in terms of low stock prices relative to the value of their companies. His Templeton World Fund recently has added to its positions in Royal Dutch/Shell, the oil company, Nedlloyd, a steamship line, and Akzo.

The German market also has picked up. According to Mr. Oechsle, "bull markets do not happen in Germany that often." But when they do, he said, "they are lengthy and broad." The last German bull market was eight years ago, and the one before that was eight years earlier, he adds. Among his fund's favorite stocks there are Daimler-Benz, Volkswagen and the Dresdner Bank. The German market, which began to rebound last December, received added support this month from the election of Helmut Kohl's conservative coalition Government.

EQUALLY enamored with the German and Netherlands markets is M. David Testa, president of the T. Rowe Price International Fund. He is also considering "a modest foray" into the French market, partly because the recent "round of municipal elections was a shot across the bow of the Socialist Government." In Sweden, Mr. Testa favors L. M. Ericsson and in Switzerland, Société Générale de Surveillance, which verifies shipments in world trade. Like many other fund managers, Mr. Testa has cut back his fund's role in the London market because it soared in 1982.

Even Spain, one of Europe's smallest stock markets, has caught the eye of some money managers. Mr. Templeton has Spain on his list of the most undervalued markets. And Patrick Page Kildoyle, portfolio manager and economist for First Investors International Securities Fund, says that Spanish stocks, many of which offer yields to investors of 16 percent, trade at a third of their book value and that the country's new Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzáles, has promised to bring down interest rates and improve the economy. Among the stocks Mr. Kildoyle likes are Unión Eléctrica and Telefónica, both utilities, and Vallehermoso and Dragados, which are real estate developers.

Among the larger markets, Mr. Templeton sees the greatest value in Australia. Share prices there are down because the Labor Party won national elections earlier this month. In addition, soon after that, Australia devalued its currency 10 percent. "In the long run, Australia will be one of the best investments that can be made today," says Mr. Templeton. He recently added to positions in Australia New Zealand Banking and National Commerce Bank. Other investors, however, such as Mr. Bratt of the Scudder International Fund, say they plan to wait until share prices decline further or until the economic climate for the metal and mining companies improves.

Fund managers see quicker gains ahead for markets in Asia. The Japanese market, for instance, has already scored large advances, but an improving economy, a stronger yen and an economic benefit from declining oil prices should continue to fuel the rally, the fund managers say. Mr. Testa of T. Rowe Price is placing his bets on a Japanese recovery with investments in prefabricated homes (Sekisui), consumer finance (Orient Finance), retailing (Marui) and construction (Tansei).

The Hong Kong market is turning up after falling swiftly last year on concern about the colony's future. Mr. Kildoyle says the Hong Kong market "is trading at only one-third of the price/earnings multiple of the Singapore market, yet its economy is growing just as fast."

Thus, optimism thrives so long as recovery continues. As Mr. Bratt of the Scudder International Fund warns, "If the U.S. economic recovery aborts, all bets are off."

*Fred R. Bleakley writes on finance from New York.*

### A FOREIGN ALTERNATIVE: 500 A.D.R.'S

Other than buying shares in an international mutual fund, investors in the United States can find it easy to dabble in foreign stocks by purchasing American depository receipts, which represent shares in more than 500 of the largest publicly traded foreign companies.

A.D.R.'s, which trade for the most part on the New York Stock Exchange and in the over-the-counter market, are issued by American banks. Since no certificates or money cross any borders, the A.D.R.'s look and act like American stocks. They transfer easily, so that payment is swift. Dividends come in dollars. And A.D.R. holders receive corporate news in English and have voting rights on mergers. A.D.R.'s typically trade in tandem with their parent security because arbitragers step in to take advantage of spreads between the two markets.

Some of the most actively traded A.D.R.'s are British Petroleum, Sony, Royal Dutch/Shell and Unilever N.V., all on the Big Board, and Philips, Glaxo Holdings, a British pharmaceutical company, Fuji Photo and De Beers, the diamond producer, in the O.T.C. market.

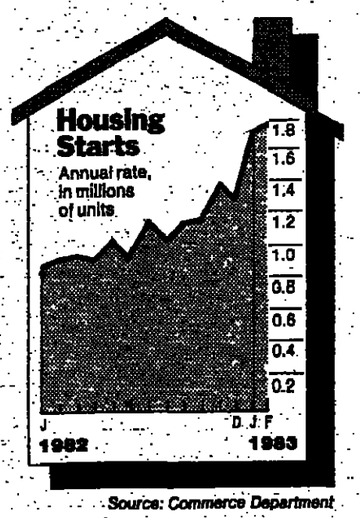
United States brokers handle orders for A.D.R.'s, but more often than not they have research available on only a handful. Merrill Lynch is one of the few firms with research in European stocks. Prudential-Bache Securities offers research on Japanese securities, but on few other international stocks. Annual reports of A.D.R. companies, however, are available in English and most brokers should be able to provide investors with information on how to obtain them.

**WEEK IN BUSINESS**

## Housing's Vigor — Will It Continue?

**Housing starts,** showing unexpected strength, rose 2.9 percent last month to an annual rate of 1.76 million units. It was the fastest pace for home building since 1979 — but one that's not likely to last. Economists expect new-home starts to slow to around 1.5 million for the year. And Henry Kaufman, the Salomon Brothers guru, warns that recent sharp gains in home prices — the median price jumped to $75,500 in January — could soon offset falling mortgage rates and threaten housing's comeback.

**That, in turn, could threaten** the recovery which stumbled a bit in February, as industrial output rose a mere three-tenths of 1 percent and personal income gained only one-tenth of 1 percent. Manufacturers seem to be waiting for a consumer spending spree before committing themselves to strong increases in production. But the wait could be a long one. Individuals may be $700 billion richer because of rising stock and bond prices, but Morgan Guaranty, in its latest survey, said consumer outlays are influenced more by gains in after-tax personal income than rising net worth. And the bank's prognosis for income is, in a word, "sluggish."




Source: Commerce Department

**Stagnant was the word** for producer prices, which edged up a scant one-tenth of 1 percent in February as falling gasoline and fuel oil costs offset a steep gain in food prices. The outlook for the overall inflation rate is stagnant, too. Top economists surveyed by the monthly Blue Chip Economic Indicators see consumer prices gaining 4 percent this year and 5 percent in 1984, following last year's 3.9 percent.

**OPEC finally agreed to cut prices** — by $5 a barrel, to $29 — and to impose production quotas in a bid to put an end to crumbling oil prices. But the cartel's accord may be nothing more than spring folly. OPEC set total production for its members at 17.5 million barrels a day at a time when they're only pumping 13.9 million and the world's big oil companies, smelling further price cuts, are dipping into inventories rather than tanking up. With oil demand expected to rise a meager 2 percent this year and the Soviet Union scrambling to sell crude for hard currency, oil prices seems headed in only one direction — down.

**That doesn't bother** T. Boone Pickens, Mesa Petroleum's acquisitive chairman. After coming up dry in takeover struggles for Cities Service and General American Oil, Mr. Pickens is eyeing Superior Oil. Mesa has purchased 2.5 million shares, or nearly 2 percent of Superior, but has yet to make its intentions known.

**Merrill Lynch's** biggest shareholder, the secretive Fung King Hey, is also trying to keep the bankers at bay. He's planning to sell half of his 4 percent stake in Merrill — which he received in exchange for 25 percent of his Asian brokerage business — to pay off $45 million in loans. The debt is owed by his faltering property concern, which has fallen victim — along with many others — to Hong Kong's sinking real estate market.

**Bankers and Brokers:** Security Pacific, California's aggressive bank-holding company, is on the move again. First it bought a Government securities dealer, then it moved into discount brokerage. Now it's buying two big independent municipal and corporate bond firms. So much for Glass-Steagall.

### The New York Stock Exchange

**MOST ACTIVE STOCKS**
**WEEK ENDED MARCH 18, 1983**
**(Consolidated)**

| Company | Sales | Last | Net Chng |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sony Cp | 4,003,800 | 15¼ | + 1⅛ |
| ATT | 3,877,500 | 66 | – ⅝ |
| IBM | 3,373,900 | 99⅝ | – ⅛ |
| Exxon | 3,337,000 | 30¼ | – ⅝ |
| K mart | 3,233,100 | 33½ | + 3 |
| Schlmb | 3,192,700 | 38½ | – 3⅛ |
| Supr Oil | 2,900,400 | 31⅝ | – 3⅞ |
| Atl Rich | 2,823,500 | 37¼ | – 4 |
| Sears | 2,642,100 | 36 | + ⅞ |
| Arch Dn | 2,555,500 | 19⅞ | – 4 |
| Searle G | 2,483,900 | 38¾ | + 1 |
| RCA | 2,394,800 | 25 | + 1½ |
| Goodyr | 2,384,000 | 28¾ | – 1¼ |
| Mesa P | 2,349,900 | 11¼ | + ⅝ |
| G Mot | 2,346,300 | 60 | + ⅛ |

**Standard & Poor's**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 400 Indust | 171.0 | 166.0 | 167.9 | –1.82 |
| 20 Transp | 26.7 | 25.9 | 26.2 | –0.11 |
| 40 Utils | 62.6 | 61.5 | 61.9 | –0.23 |
| 40 Financial | 18.6 | 18.0 | 18.4 | +0.17 |
| 500 Stocks | 152.5 | 148.2 | 149.9 | –1.34 |

**Dow Jones**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 Indust | 1134.7 | 1105.0 | 1117.7 | unch |
| 20 Transp | 512.4 | 495.5 | 506.2 | + 2.93 |
| 15 Utils | 127.9 | 125.6 | 126.2 | – 0.73 |
| 65 Comb | 450.0 | 438.0 | 443.8 | + 0.45 |

| MARKET DIARY | Last Week | Prev. Week |
|---|---|---|
| Advances | 874 | 913 |
| Declines | 1,053 | 1,052 |
| Total Issues | 2,171 | 2,183 |
| New Highs | 304 | 518 |
| New Lows | 24 | 13 |

| VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close) | Last Week | Year To Date |
|---|---|---|
| Total Sales | 353,218,280 | 4,858,567,599 |
| Same Per. 1982 | 243,027,220 | 2,817,900,803 |

**WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES**

| New York Stock Exchange | High | Low | Last | Net Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indust | 100.3 | 98.6 | 99.0 | –1.31 |
| Transp | 83.6 | 81.6 | 83.1 | +0.43 |
| Utils | 45.9 | 45.5 | 45.6 | –0.23 |
| Finance | 92.6 | 91.7 | 92.3 | –0.04 |
| Composite | 87.3 | 86.0 | 86.3 | –0.92 |

### The American Stock Exchange

**MOST ACTIVE STOCKS**
**WEEK ENDED MARCH 18, 1983**
**(Consolidated)**

| Company | Sales | Last | Net Chng |
|---|---|---|---|
| ImpCh | 2,036,700 | 6 | – ⅛ |
| Wang B | 1,572,400 | 33¼ | + ⅝ |
| DomeP | 1,213,600 | 2 | –5/16 |
| Cyprus | 497,400 | 1½ | ... |
| Kirby | 481,700 | 8¼ | – ⅛ |
| BeefCh | 436,700 | 7⅞ | – 1⅛ |
| DatPd | 363,600 | 19⅞ | + 1 |
| OzarkA | 359,600 | 15½ | – ⅛ |
| TexAir | 353,500 | 10 | ... |
| Amdhl | 353,100 | 41⅛ | + 4 |

| MARKET DIARY | Last Week | Prev. Week |
|---|---|---|
| Advances | 312 | 415 |
| Declines | 478 | 386 |
| Total Issues | 914 | 916 |
| New Highs | 123 | 208 |
| New Lows | 4 | 3 |

| VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close) | Last Week | Year To Date |
|---|---|---|
| Total Sales | 31,837,365 | 480,554,475 |
| Same Per. 1982 | 18,594,450 | 243,523,891 |

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher

A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOPPING, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor

MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor

CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor

JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager
LANCE R. PRIMIS, Sr. V.P., Advertising
J. A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations
HOWARD BISHOW, V.P., Employee Relations
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, V.P., Circulation
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

# A Big Boost for Midgetman

Even as President Reagan and Congress engage in sterile debate about a nuclear arms "freeze," you can hear the intellectual ice breaking in the minds of more serious strategic thinkers.

Henry Kissinger is the latest convert to the school of experts who think that technology has radically changed the arms control riddle. They therefore advocate a radical change in nuclear strategy and diplomacy — away from missiles that each carry several warheads to weapons that carry only one. The shorthand term is Midgetman, to replace the existing Minuteman and the contemplated MX. Mr. Kissinger calls it the only sane response to a "conceptual crisis."

Writing in Time, the former Secretary of State begs us to break the habits of thought that produced both the SALT agreements and President Reagan's START proposals. The old assumptions, he warns, are leading to an intellectual dead end.

He concedes that the central fallacy of the old approach took root during the Nixon Administration. It lay in trying to control the nuclear arms race by limiting the number of each side's launching vehicles — missiles, submarines and bombers — while permitting each launcher to carry any number of individually aimed warheads.

The result threatens to make even Soviet-American "equality" unstable. For the greater the ratio of warheads to launchers, the greater the potential advantage to the side that strikes first. And perversely, the greater any further reduction in the numbers of launchers, the greater the advantage.

Picture each superpower "limited" (by SALT) to 5,000 warheads aboard 1,000 launchers. For a surprise attack, you could aim five warheads at every enemy launcher, surely enough to catch most of them before they can be fired.

Then imagine a tense military crisis, with each side worried that the other may shoot first to seize this advantage. Each would be tempted to shoot even sooner. The time for negotiation disappears. Confidence in the certainty of retaliation — deterrence — fails.

Now imagine Soviet agreement to Mr. Reagan's (START) proposals for deep cuts in weaponry, leaving each side with 2,500 warheads aboard 400 launchers. Paradoxically, the "reduction" would only increase instability. The side that fires first could now aim at least *six* warheads at each enemy launcher.

To live with such warhead-to-launcher imbalance is to live in peril. And with the riddle so defined, the answer is obvious: reduce the ratio, ideally to one warhead per launcher. It is the answer to which Mr. Kissinger now lends his prestige.

One-warhead Midgetmen, dispersed and mobile, would be neither vulnerable to nor capable of surprise attack. With roughly equal numbers of warheads on each side, they're a very poor bet to disarm an enemy in a single blow; they simply can't be depended on to strike hundreds of movable targets with enough force to wipe out a whole retaliatory system. Mr. Kissinger thinks 500 such land missiles for each side might do. Absent agreement, he would unilaterally build one American Midgetman to match every Soviet warhead.

•

How to get from here to there is a separate question. Mr. Kissinger would delay the MX and cancel it altogether if the Soviets, too, are persuaded to shift to one-warhead weapons. And if they thus reduce their preponderance in land-based missiles, he would in return scale down America's preponderance in submarine-based missiles.

The essential first step, however, is recognizing the riddle. The Russians have been even slower than Americans to face up to it. But the chief of their general staff, Marshal Ogarkov, conceded last week that the "survivability" of his land-based missiles was beginning to worry him.

As Mr. Kissinger says, it should be the main worry. Merely making missiles more destructive can no longer alter the balance of power. But new technologies are creating new vulnerabilities that do affect the balance of terror. Controlling those technologies is the only way out.

# The Axman and Nuclear Power

There was a mishap last month at the Salem Unit 1 nuclear plant operated by the Public Service Electric and Gas Company of New Jersey. No one was hurt, but the incident is more unsettling than any since Three Mile Island.

In an emergency, the automatic "scram" system in a nuclear plant drops safety rods that choke off the nuclear reaction. At Salem, when a fault occurred on Feb. 25, the system failed. The operator realized what had happened and in 24 seconds dropped the rods manually. Had he taken a few moments longer, and had the reactor been running at full power, there could have been core damage or meltdown. But the problems only start there.

The automatic system failed because of two shoebox-sized devices called circuit-breakers. When either breaks the circuit, the safety rods fall. On Feb. 25, both failed, for the same reason. Better design, with diverse types of circuit-breakers, would have prevented such failure.

This was only the second known total failure of an automatic shutdown system. The first happened three days before — at the same plant. Then, the Salem management wrongly inferred that the manual system had beaten the automatic system to the punch. Correct reading of the computer print-out would have shown the automatic system's failure and might have prevented the recurrence.

The circuit-breakers were unreliable because of a long trail of disquieting errors. The utility says it never received a maintenance bulletin sent out by the plant's manufacturer in 1973. For 10 years the circuit-breakers were never lubricated. When one jammed in January, they were lubricated, but with the wrong kind of oil. At the next emergency, both jammed.

The "scram" system is one of the most vital, high-level safety features in a nuclear plant. In the earliest reactors, safety depended on a man with an ax to cut the ropes holding up the rods — the Safety Control Rod Ax Man, whence the term "scram." If scram systems now fail for want of a can of oil, it's hard to see much progress in safety standards.

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A lesson of both Salem and Three Mile Island is that precursor events, if analyzed promptly and properly, can prevent disaster. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission needs to be more rigorous in compelling utilities to study failures. Salem should not have restarted until the problem of Feb. 25 had been correctly diagnosed.

The commission has two ways of analyzing safety — field reports of utility performance and probability studies of risk. Recently it has been emphasizing risk assessment, which predicted the automatic scram system would fail once in 33,000 reactor years — hardly a red flag for the problem. But the Salem plant had been cited three times for below-average management. Risk assessment may help *compare* risks; for real-world accidents, empirical evidence would seem a clearer guide.

Nuclear power is essential to an energy policy that seeks diverse sources. But the public will not respond in measured fashion to another core damage event: it may simply reach for the ax. The safety margin that prevented disaster at Salem is a thread too thin for a whole industry to depend on.

## Topics

# Reorientation

### Mr. Yesterday

What was the cause of youth unrest in the 1960's? "Look into a mirror," Eldridge Cleaver wrote in "Soul on Ice," his famous book of prison essays. "The cause is you, Mr. and Mrs. Yesterday, you with your forked tongues." He urged an alliance between blacks, the peace movement and the New Left. Subsequently, he traveled to, among other places, China, North Vietnam and North Korea.

What was the cause of youth unrest at the University of Wisconsin Friday? Look into a mirror, one might say. The object of student protests was Eldridge Cleaver. Why? Because the revolutionary views of the founder of the former Black Panther Party have themselves been revolutionized. He now regards himself as strongly anti-Communist. In 1980, the former Panther endorsed Ronald Reagan for President.

There's an even more striking sign of change: the sponsorship he has accepted. The organization that sent him to lecture in Madison and other universities is C.A.R.P., the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles. C.A.R.P. is an arm of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church.

What a transformation: then, Mr. Cleaver was an advocate of black power; now he's an advocate for the Moonies. Then an admiring visitor to North Korea; now, an agent of a militantly anti-Communist South Korean.

Seoul on ice, one might say.

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### Tall Wall Tale

Writing about China the other day, we innocently repeated what turns out to be an old savant's tale — that the Great Wall is the only mortal structure visible from the moon.

Challenged by a sharp-eyed reader (see Letters), we decided to check with higher authority, the Apollo astronaut Buzz Aldrin. He says that from the moon, he never saw the Wall, and doesn't think any human could.

"You have a hard time even seeing continents," recalled Mr. Aldrin, now an engineering consultant in Los Angeles. "I guess where this all got started was on the Gemini flights, much closer to earth, when astronauts were able to identify man-made structures, maybe including the Great Wall."

Chastened, we pass this along to McGraw-Hill, publisher of our source, "The Great Wall of China," whose foreword by Jacques Gernet of the Collège de France proclaims that the Wall is "the only man-made structure that can be seen from the moon." It's still a big wall but that's an extraterrestrial tale.

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### Empty Term of Art

People used to say "new and improved" . . . "the latest thing in" . . . "up to the minute." Now there is only "state of the art."

We've seen ads for state-of-the-art condominiums, state-of-the-art tuning, state-of-the-art plumbing. What do you get when you acquire a state-of-the-art whatever — besides a commodity accompanied by a cliché?

What you get is a pig in a poke. To describe something as "state of the art" is not to say that it works, only that it's been taken as far as it can be — so far. Which may not be very far at all.

## Letters

# The Would-Be Rescuers of Social Security

To the Editor:

On March 10, the House of Representatives put its seal of approval on the compromise Social Security plan adopted by 12 of the 15 members of the National Commission on Social Security Reform. After almost two years of political bickering, faced with mounting deficits in the system, the House collectively washed its hands of the problem and gave its consent to one of the most expensive political deals in recent memory.

The bill is bad legislation: it is unfair, it is expensive and it ignores fundamental problems that will have to be faced sooner or later. And those who voted for it may come to be haunted by the words of Speaker Tip O'Neill.

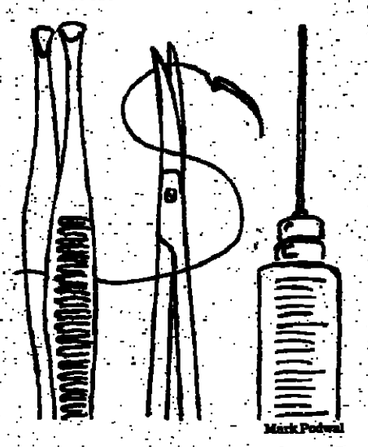
As the House neared a vote, the Speaker concluded — in words reminiscent of Jimmy Carter's when he signed the 1977 amendments — that "Social Security is secure for the next 25 or 30 years." The fact is, the system could be in trouble again as early as 1985 or 1986.

Everyone agrees that if we make it through the decade, the system will be secure through the beginning of the next century. But the bill does not leave much margin for error, and if the economy and employment don't improve, adding much-needed reserves to the trust funds, Congress and the commission will be in for some much-deserved criticism for letting the system totter twice in less than five years.

Here's what the House suggests is the best plan for solving the Social Security problem:

- Tax increases in 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988 and 1990.
- Taxing benefits of individuals who (following the advice of Congress) have saved for their retirement and will not depend solely on Social Security.
- Higher taxes for the self-employed.
- A reduction in benefits for all recipients.
- A delayed retirement age for some workers who have paid into the system for over 20 years.

These taxes will hit hardest low- and middle-income workers, particularly the self-employed and small businesses. The delay in the cost-of-living allowance will have its greatest effect on the millions of elderly who depend on Social Security for over 90 percent of their income, and they make up one-third of all non-married beneficiaries over the age of 65.


Mark Podwal

If this were not enough, taxpayers and the 27 million Social Security recipients who depend on Medicare will be shocked this summer when they hear about the 1983 Advisory Council on Social Security, which is quietly studying Medicare.

Health-care inflation is still running at double-digit levels, and the entire program is estimated to cost about $100 billion by the beginning of the next decade. The Congressional Budget Office has recently estimated that the program will go into the red by the end of 1987; the cumulative deficit by 1995 will be a staggering $400.9 billion.

The House bill will improve Medicare's financial situation, but the fundamental sort of reforms that will be necessary were ignored. Instead, the bill calls for a tremendous increase in taxes, while not addressing the substantial revenues that will be called for to keep Medicare solvent beyond the end of this decade.

It is clear that we cannot continue to support that program solely through a payroll tax. Partial funding through general revenues, such as has been suggested by previous Social Security councils and members of Congress like Barber Conable, the senior Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, provides a means not only of helping Medicare but of holding the line on some of the large payroll tax increases necessary for the retirement and disability systems.

All of this was pushed aside as the House rushed to rid itself of this gnawing problem prior to the 1984 election. The opportunity that was lost was far greater than the momentary relief that was gained.

MATTHEW J. RINALDO
Washington, March 11, 1983

*The writer, Representative of New Jersey's 12th Congressional District, is the ranking Republican member of the House Select Committee on Aging.*

## Servitude Can Still No 'Moral Hunger'

To the Editor:

We respectfully take issue with your March 13 editorial "Moral Hunger," on both constitutional and moral grounds.

Constitutionally, you are in error in claiming that "the Constitution specifies conscription . . . for the military." In fact, the power of Congress to conscript was neither granted nor denied by the Founding Fathers. Article I, section 8, of the Constitution merely spelled out certain general military powers: to "declare War . . . raise and support Armies . . . provide and maintain a Navy. . . ."

It is the Supreme Court of the United States which must take the credit — or blame — for conscription. World War I triggered the Selective Draft Act, which was challenged — constitutionally — in 1918. It was then that the Supreme Court handed down a shockingly superficial opinion which refused to meet, and failed to discredit, profound constitutional arguments marshaled against conscription.

(For example, the Court's entire answer to the argument that Congress had not been delegated the power to draft was: ". . . the mind cannot conceive an army without the men to compose it. . . ." The necessary implication? That all government power without force to bring it into being is illusory; that Congress's power, say, to "establish post offices and post roads" — derived from that same Article I, section 8 — permits forced labor to get those roads built, those post offices staffed.)

As to the involuntary servitude objection, the Supreme Court considered it "refuted by its mere statement," even though seven years earlier the Court had held that the 13th Amendment's "plain intention was to abolish slavery of whatever form . . . to render impossible any form of bondage; to make labor free. . . ."

What did the Court base its holding on in 1918? Why, the self-same ethics that permeates your editorial: collective need and altruism.

Morally, you are in error in claiming that any human being, or any collection of them — mayors, foundation presidents or the kind of presidents who wage wars — has the right to compel service (military or civilian) from any other human being. You can fling fancy phrases about — "raw hunger for transcendence," "the spirit of altruism" — but the rock-bottom essence of what you advocate (if not now, for "practical" reasons, then later) is involuntary servitude.

ERIKA HOLZER
HENRY MARK HOLZER
Brooklyn, March 14, 1983

*The writers are, respectively, a lawyer and a professor of constitutional law at the Brooklyn Law School.*

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To the Editor:

Compulsory universal service for 18-year-olds is being proposed as a way to meet the moral hunger of our youth. May I suggest that freedom, not compulsion, is an indispensable element in the development and exercise of the moral sense? Legislating a year of enforced altruism at the age of 18 will not generate a moral sense where none exists, nor restore one which has atrophied. But it will kill it where it is budding.

JOAN P. COONEY
Albany, March 14, 1983

## Health Insurance: Raise The Negligents' Rates

To the Editor:

"It is far from clear," you say in a March 6 editorial, "how forcing up private insurance premiums would force down hospital costs." One way to force down hospital costs is for insurers to charged different premiums for different risks.

For example, a well-exercised nonsmoker of normal weight, with a normal blood picture and normal blood pressure, someone who has a biennial sigmoid exam and an annual stool test, would pay much less than an overweight smoker who does not exercise, has a poor blood picture, has uncontrolled high blood pressure and never had a sigmoid exam or a stool test.

Making those who choose to be the sickest pay extra might convince many of them that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. And it might create a society less in need of hospitals.

The free market would be allowed to work, and those who are concerned about their health — and whose actions reduce the costs for all of us — would benefit financially from their efforts.

ROBERT J. MALLIN
Metuchen, N.J., March 11, 1983

## Reagan's Unsettling Life-or-Death Preference

To the Editor:

In addressing the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando on March 8, President Reagan praised "as a profound truth" the sentiment that it is better that children "die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under Communism and one day die no longer believing in God" (news story March 9). These words are cause for dismay.

If they are essentially opportunistic rhetoric, calculatingly expressed to an audience that the President had reason to expect would respond enthusiastically to them, they raise embarrassing questions both about Mr. Reagan's judgment and about his good sense. The decency of people and their right to continued life, as a reading of Bernard Shaw's "The Devil's Disciple" might have taught him, does not, after all, depend on their religious beliefs.

We have even more reason for concern if, as many think, Mr. Reagan is a true believer in the kind of sentiment he uttered. For, as the most powerful political leader in the world, Mr. Reagan can, by a touch on a button, determine whether hundreds of millions of people shall live or die.

It is profoundly disquieting that the individual who has life-and-death power over the future of humanity, young and old alike, may believe that we are better off dead but devout than alive and atheistic.

EDWARD PESSEN
Brooklyn, March 11, 1983

## Not *That* Great a Wall

To the Editor:

Things do move slowly in China, as you note in a March 8 Topics item, but wonders, or stories about them, still abound.

You say the Great Wall is "the only mortal creation visible from the Moon." This idea is at least 60 years old, and it is often repeated, even in learned articles. It isn't true.

No communication with manned spacecraft makes mention of the Wall, and in any case, a few calculations demonstrate the idea's absurdity. According to my friend Dr. Alta Walker of the U.S. Geological Survey, seeing the Wall from the Moon is like seeing a popsicle stick from 384 kilometers.

May I add that Geil was not the first Westerner to claim to have traveled the entire length of the Wall. An American engineer named Vudauk made the same claim in 1881, in a French scholarly journal. Both claims may perhaps be viewed with skepticism. And of course those 7,000 life-size clay figures are from the Ch'in, not the Han.

ARTHUR N. WALDRON
Princeton, N.J., March 9, 1983

*The writer is a researcher in Princeton University's East Asian Studies Department.*

*The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.*

## A Missing Part in Zimbabwe's Constitution

To the Editor:

The acts of Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, driving "openly toward a one-party tribal state" is properly condemned by your editorial of March 10. What is particularly distressing is that Mugabe's behavior was readily predictable and *might* have been forestalled.

As constitutional counselor to the then Prime Minister, Abel T. Muzorewa, at the Lancaster House Conference, at which the Zimbabwe Constitution was written, I recommended and the Bishop advocated a constitutional provision guaranteeing the right to form political parties.

While this recommendation was privately applauded by other legal counsel at the conference, I was unable to obtain public support. And the hidebound British lawyers objected — arguing that this was not in accord with their "traditional" independence constitutions.

Quite the opposite approach is being followed by the National Constitution Commission of Liberia, which I served as constitutional counsel. The first draft of the new constitution, which will serve as the keystone in the return to civilian rule, was approved by the commission on Jan. 28. Article 80 (a) reads as follows:

"Since the essence of democracy is free competition of ideas expressed by political parties and political groups as well as by individuals, parties may freely be established to advocate the political opinions of the people. Laws, regulations, decrees or measures which might have the effect of creating a one-party state shall be declared unconstitutional."

(Prof.) ALBERT P. BLAUSTEIN
Rutgers University School of Law
Camden, N.J., March 11, 1983

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*ABROAD AT HOME*

# Mr. Shultz's Move

By Anthony Lewis

WASHINGTON — The Reagan Administration's Middle East policy has arrived at the moment of truth. Officials know that after the anticlimactic outcome of an event in which they had invested much time and hope: the visit to Washington by Israel's Foreign Minister, Yitzhak Shamir.

Secretary of State Shultz spent 12 hours talking with Mr. Shamir. President Reagan saw him — and said afterward that it was a good talk. That comment reflected the impression of all who met Mr. Shamir that Israel's Government had decided to move toward the American position on Lebanon. He took home with him U.S. ideas on assuring security in southern Lebanon without a fixed Israeli troop presence, and agreement seemed to be around the corner. There were optimistic noises in Washington.

But when Mr. Shamir got back to Jerusalem, the first signal was read. He said that American proposals were "unsatisfactory" — and that Israel had not by any means given up its insistence on stationing troops in Lebanon. So no agreement is in sight.

The episode of the Shamir visit fits a particular view of Prime Minister Begin's diplomatic strategy. His position in the Lebanese negotiations, in this view, is primarily designed to block the Reagan plan for Palestinian autonomy in a West Bank linked to Jordan.

Since Mr. Reagan made his proposal last September, the United States has been waiting and hoping for King Hussein to come forward and say he is ready to negotiate on it. But he has looked for signs that he will not be putting himself out on a limb — a sign, especially, that President Reagan and his Government are really committed and can produce results.

Lebanon has become the test of U.S. capability. The Reagan people privately assured King Hussein last fall that they would be able to arrange an Israeli withdrawal. In an interview the other day the Jordanian Information Minister, Adnan Abu Oudeh, signaled that the King was still waiting for a demonstration of U.S. will in Lebanon.

In these circumstances, the view is, Mr. Begin must be asking himself: "Why do I want to move on Lebanon and make it easier for Hussein?" For if the King did grasp the nettle and say he was ready to talk, political life would certainly become more complicated for Mr. Begin. He would be resisting negotiation on an American plan when, for once, there was a willing Arab partner.

None of this suggests that the Begin Government will stand pat indefinitely on its conditions for leaving Lebanon: keeping troops at security points and establishing full diplomatic and trade relations. The Israelis know well enough that Beirut cannot accept those terms, since they would cut Lebanon off from the Arab world and make certain that Syria would not withdraw its troops.

Time, rather, is the point. If the Lebanese negotiations are delayed long enough, skirmishing for the American Presidential election will have begun. And then no President would push an Israeli government. The Reagan plan will be dead.

Indeed, some Israelis have made the point to Americans in even more candid terms. As soon as Mr. Reagan is ready to give up on the West Bank, they say, he will find Mr. Begin is forthcoming on Lebanon.

The question now is what the Administration will do. It has pretty much let the Reagan initiative hang in the air since announcing it. Will it now make a fight, or silently give up?

If the Administration is serious, the best way to show it is for Secretary Shultz to make an extended trip to the Middle East. He has been reluctant to become personally involved, knowing the risk of failure. But there is no real alternative now. Only Mr. Shultz can speak to leaders in the region with the authority to be convincing. Otherwise, we might as well know that we have no Middle East policy.

To King Hussein Mr. Shultz can reaffirm that this Administration has a political commitment. To Mr. Begin he can make clear that the United States wants to see movement on Lebanon *and* the West Bank — and that failure would exact a long-term price in Israeli-American relations.

Mr. Begin believes that if Israel goes on settling the West Bank for a few more years, the territory will be effectively annexed — and the United States will have to accept the fait accompli. But the result of that process would be to make Israel a state on the South African model, depending on force to keep a large indigenous population without basic rights. Would Americans really see that as in our interest, or Israel's?

In the current issue of the quarterly Foreign Policy, Larry L. Fabian makes a convincing argument to the contrary. "No American President," he concludes, "however sympathetic to Israel, can offer it immunity in the United States from the consequences of West Bank policies that are not consonant with a central requirement of the American-Israeli compact: That these two countries be allies in the search for peace. Absent this, the moorings of the special relationship can only loosen, gradually perhaps, but inexorably."

*WASHINGTON*

# Spring In the Capital

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 19 — It's spring again in Washington — some things *do* run on time here. You can tell, for the star magnolia tree at the northwest gate of the White House is blooming once more, and the Gridiron Club is tuning up for its annual spoof of the resident politicians.

So, while Secretary of Defense Weinberger is proposing to spend $2 trillion or $3 trillion to save the Republic in the next few years and the President is trying to put over on the press his version of the Alien and Sedition Acts, the reporters of the Gridiron Club are taking their revenge in an evening of fun. And this year Washington is talking frivolously about a personal political question.

How well will Senator John Glenn of Ohio do, when he looks down the head table and addresses the President of the United States and all these fancy newspaper and television penguins in their white-tie suits on behalf of the Democratic Party? This is the silly question now being discussed in Washington.

Nobody has ever questioned John Glenn's bravery. He has survived two wars as a fighter pilot. He was the first American astronaut to orbit the earth, but nobody has ever accused him of being funny, or suspected that his bravery would take him into the amiable conflict of a Gridiron dinner as his party's principal speaker.

The Gridiron is where the President shines. He knows these white-tie penguin audiences better than anybody else, except maybe Senator Dole of Kansas, who will speak for the Republicans at the Gridiron dinner next weekend, and who knows, even better than President Reagan, how to say serious things in a hilarious way.

You have to know what a Gridiron audience is like in order to understand these mysteries. It's made up of prominent politicians, reporters, ambassadors who glory but are stunned by the critical impudence of the press that mocks the President and the Congress, and newspaper publishers, who pick up the tab at $95 a plate and write it off as "business expenses."

It's not an outrageous "business expense." Once a year the Gridiron Club brings officials, reporters, publishers and television types together in order to laugh about themselves and their pretensions and also to consider the problems of the nation.

Candidates for the Presidency like John Glenn have a problem when they address the Gridiron Club at the beginning of an election campaign. What are they to say? I have worked with Senator Glenn for many years on the board of the World Book Encyclopedia and in the process got to know him very well. He is *a very serious man, but not funny in the* way that the Gridiron Club might expect.

Fritz Mondale was more canny about accepting an invitation to address the Gridiron Club this year. Being ahead in the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination, he ducked it and said he would see them later, probably next year. But Senator Glenn took it on, and we'll see next week how he comes out.

Senator Glenn has his troubles. The Israeli lobby is against him, for it assumes that he "is no friend of Israel," having voted for arms for Saudi Arabia and questioned Menachem Begin's policies in Lebanon and elsewhere. But Mr. Glenn sticks to his principles and will no doubt try to argue them as amiably as he can when he faces the Gridiron mob.

It will not be easy, but the President, who will also be there, will have to respond to questions from the press about his recent attempts to censor reporters. You always know that Presidents are getting a little nervous about their policies when they begin complaining about "leaks" to the press. And you can be fairly sure that they're in trouble when they try to impose censorship on their own officials. This is where we are now with Ronald Reagan, and no doubt he will have to deal with this at the Gridiron dinner next week.

It should be explained that in general, governments are not against "leaks." *In fact, a government is* about the only vessel known to "leak" from the top. Governments "leak" all the time to favored reporters, who call their "leaks" "scoops"; what governments object to is not the "leaks" they want to get out from the top about the wisdom of their policies, but the "leaks" from their officials at the bottom who may not think their masters at the top are all that wise.

There is, however, a point at the end of every Gridiron dinner, after the mockery and the fun, when the speakers become serious and talk about what unites the nation rather than what divides it, and Senator Glenn is very good at that.

He may be the only candidate for the Presidency who really believes that the problems before the nation are so serious at home and abroad that we need a truly "national government," with the most talented members of both parties at the top. This is his instinct and maybe his best hope for the Presidential nomination of his party. He is not an eloquent public speaker, and it's odd that he would try to prove that he is in the amusing atmosphere of the Gridiron Club, against the theatrical talents of the President.

But that's the way Senator Glenn is. Challenge him, and he'll do it. Tell him he's not funny and he'll try. It's been that way with him all his life, and we'll see how he comes out after the fun at the Gridiron Club next weekend.

# Painful Realities For the Gas Industry

By James R. Schlesinger

WASHINGTON — The gas industry's underlying attitude toward deregulation appears somewhat akin to that of St. Augustine toward sin: an urgent conviction to give up sinful regulation — but "not yet, oh Lord, not just yet."

The industry has long been lured by the vision of a future paradise rid forever of regulatory paperwork. But it now faces the concrete problems of gradual deregulation. If the transition is to succeed, the industry must grapple with painful realities, not with convenient abstractions. Since 1978, a question has increasingly arisen: Can this industry actually stand deregulation?

The fundamentals for a deregulated market are simple — if harsh. Less than half the gas used in the United States is burned by households and commercial establishments, which, given the absence of easy alternatives, constitute a captive market. More than half is used by industry, mostly burned in industrial and utility boilers. Industrial users are not captive. Many can readily switch to other fuels, whenever the cost of natural gas rises above that of the alternatives. In an effectively functioning gas market, the price of gas must be such as to meet the competition of residual fuel oil. Today, that implies a field price between $3 and $3.50 per thousand cubic feet.

For a generation, Federal regulation sheltered the principal players in the gas industry from marketplace realities. Prices were held below the equilibrium or clearing levels. As a consequence, pipelines never had to worry about marketing gas or about the price of alternative fuels. They could concentrate primarily on obtaining supply. Producers, buttressed by the illusion of a seemingly insatiable market, could seize on various mechanisms to raise prices to compensate for the heavy hand of Government regulation. But the practices thus developed sharply conflicted with the exigencies of a competitive market. If the transition to deregulation is to succeed, the habits of a generation will have to be jettisoned.

Until passage of the Natural Gas Policy Act in 1978, producers (including foreign suppliers) gradually became tantalized by a mirage of the price that natural gas could supposedly command under free-market conditions. Since gas was originally a byproduct of oilfield operations, producers were initially happy to get any price — down to a few cents per thousand cubic feet — rather than flare their gas. But during the 1970's, they convinced themselves that, by right, prices at the wellhead should be the British Thermal Unit equivalent of crude oil or even of diesel fuel.

Pipelines are costly. To insure their economic viability requires assurance of long-term supply. To induce the substantial investment required in pipeline construction, it became an early practice to enter into long-term contracts. Such contracts, unless subsidized, must in the aggregate be at or below the long-term equilibrium price. Yet, the producers' response to regulation today results in precisely the opposite outcome — contracts that now drive the price of gas above the long-term equilibrium, thereby insuring the overpricing of the product, shrinking demand and a further increase in transportation costs and the price to the user.

Under regulation — and the ensuing conditions of shortage — producers developed ingenious contractual arrangements designed to ratchet prices upward. Some contracts stipulated the "lawful maximum price" — that prices move immediately to the highest level permitted by the regulatory authorities. Others included so-called most-favored-nation clauses requiring prices immediately to rise to a level determined by the highest prices paid under any contract in a particular field, on a pipeline system or even a large part of an entire state. There were contract prices determined by other (basically irrelevant) fuels, such as the New York Harbor price of diesel fuel plus as much as 30 percent. Finally, there were take-or-pay contracts, frequently at prices above the long-term equilibrium level — not sustainable unless indirectly subsidized by cheap gas remaining under regulation. In short, against the backdrop of regulation, the producers insisted upon contractual terms inconsistent with the implicit requirements of the deregulated market they profess to desire.

In the nature of things, only a fraction of the gas supply can be priced above the long-term equilibrium level. In retrospect, perhaps the greatest defect of the Natural Gas Policy Act was its failure to outlaw contract terms requiring purchase of gas above the long-term equilibrium for gas that was deregulated. If the gas market is to be effectively deregulated, such obsolete contractual arrangements must be curtailed. Producer contracts will have to become reponsive to long-range market forces.

It is, however, necessary to do more than preach deregulation. It is also essential to establish its preconditions.

Under regulation, prices necessarily remain below those of alternative fuels. The pipelines were seduced into the belief that the markets for their "premium" fuel could be maintained if only supply could be guaranteed, price being very much a secondary matter. On the other hand, under deregulation the principal requirement for the pipelines (and their distributor customers) is to become proficient in marketing, above all to compete in price against alternative fuels.

Markets, and most notably the industrial market, cannot be retained unless prices are competitive with residual fuel oil. Thus, the appropriate wellhead price under deregulation must be the price at the point of consumption less the cost of transportation and distribution. The acceptance of traditional cost-of-service pricing will lead only to the shrinkage, if not the collapse, of the industry.

Thus, the prime duty for the pipelines under free-market conditions is to limit prices for gas to those consistent with the competitive health of the industry. It implies a determination to neutralize the dominance of the producers, which developed under conditions of shortage. Since 1978, the pipelines' overall record has scarcely been impressive. Rather than bargaining with an eye to prospective markets, they have far too readily accepted the ceiling prices of the Natural Gas Policy Act as mandated, and have acquiesced in contract terms making the industry noncompetitive.

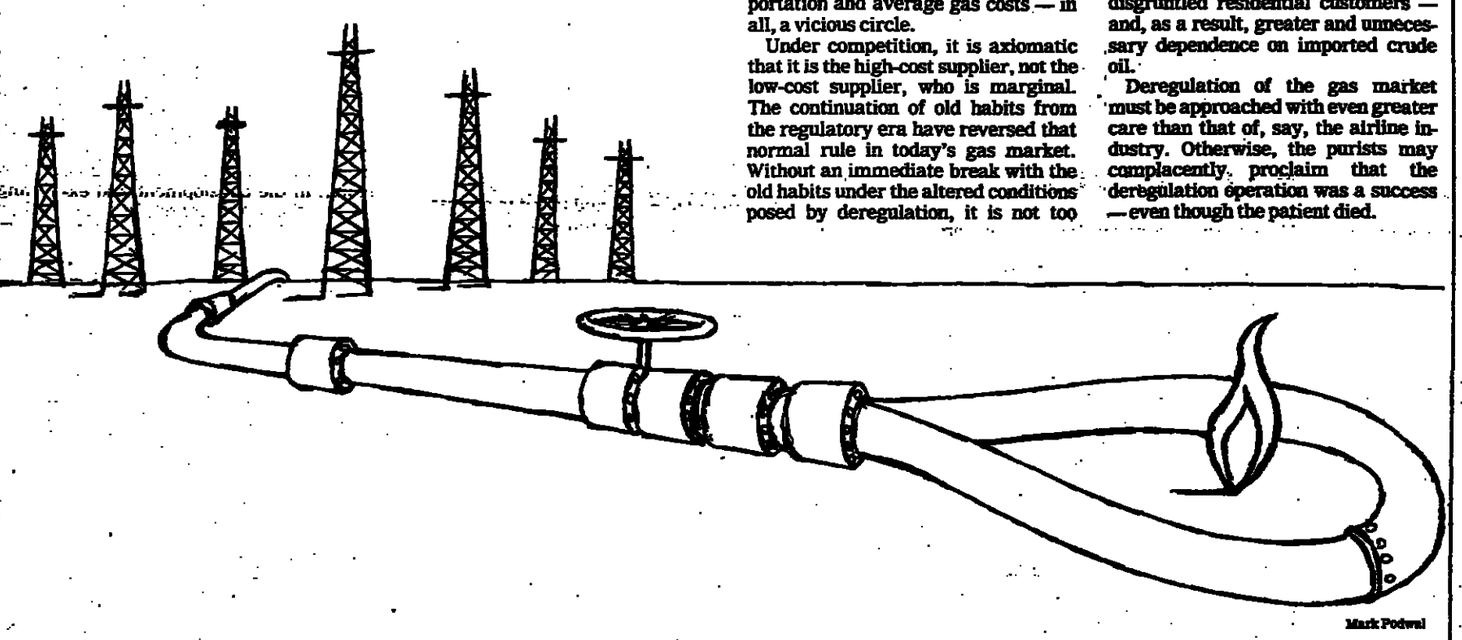
The problems of the transition have been seriously compounded by the current recession, affecting severely the energy-intensive heavy industries. The result has been reduced usage of low-cost gas and a gas price to the ultimate user increasingly determined by high-cost take-or-pay contracts. The effect has been a further loss of markets to residual fuel oil and a consequent further increase in both transportation and average gas costs — in all, a vicious circle.

Under competition, it is axiomatic that it is the high-cost supplier, not the low-cost supplier, who is marginal. The continuation of old habits from the regulatory era have reversed that normal rule in today's gas market. Without an immediate break with the old habits under the altered conditions posed by deregulation, it is not too much to suggest that producers and pipelines will be locked in a suicide pact.

To get through a transition made more difficult by the recession, by falling demand, by falling prices for competing fuels and a continuation of ingrained and pernicious habits, it seems a truism that the industry must survive that transition. The Administration's recent proposals may on balance compound the problem. The plan would allow either seller or buyer to back out of any existing contracts, but while this would serve to eliminate old contractual provisions inconsistent with a competitive long-term market, the chief advantage this industry has in getting through a most difficult period of transition is its cushion of old, cheap gas. This cushion, under the Administration's proposals, would be instantly removed on Jan. 1, 1985, thereafter sharply raising the average gas price. That would further undermine, if not cripple, the industry's ability to compete with alternative fuels.

From a national policy perspective, the use of gas to replace imported oil should be increased. The conditions in the industry, if not corrected, point in the opposite direction: a troubled industry with a diminished industrial load, rising costs, shrinking sales and disgruntled residential customers — and, as a result, greater and unnecessary dependence on imported crude oil.

Deregulation of the gas market must be approached with even greater care than that of, say, the airline industry. Otherwise, the purists may complacently proclaim that the deregulation operation was a success — even though the patient died.



Mark Podwal

**It now faces the concrete problems of deregulation**

*James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Energy from 1977 to 1979 and now senior adviser at the investment banking firm of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc., is a director of the Northwest Energy Company.*

# El Salvador, After Zimbabwe and Vietnam

By Samuel R. Berger and Anthony Lake

WASHINGTON — In the halls of Congress, no less than in the hills of Central America, the struggle over El Salvador's future has reached a dangerous and costly standoff. The Administration seems without a strategy — beyond its hope that more military aid and a few more advisers can reverse the situation. Congressional critics, unconvinced of the propriety or the prospects of escalating our involvement, appear strong enough to deny President Reagan a free hand but lack the power to impose an alternative policy. To break the logjam, there are calls for negotiations. But what kind of negotiations? About what kind of settlement?

Transporting the lessons of other conflicts across time and space is dangerous; indeed, it was policy-making by analogy that helped produce the Vietnam blunder. Vietnam was not the Sudetenland any more than El Salvador is the Mekong Delta. But it is useful to seek patterns from the past that can inform the present. If there are dangers for El Salvador to be learned from the mistakes of Vietnam, there may be helpful lessons in the talks that wrested the state of Zimbabwe from the Rhodesian civil war.

In the midst of a civil war, negotiated power-sharing arrangements are a dubious prospect. Coalition governments are difficult to shape and unlikely to endure, as Rhodesia and Vietnam have shown. The bitterness of civil war works against such a solution.

In the shadow of civil war, elections held by one side, even if it invites the other to participate, are unlikely either to end the fighting or achieve a broad popular base for the victors. The problem is not that there necessarily will be cheating. The April 1979 election held by the white minority and its black allies in Rhodesia and the March 1982 election held by the Salvadoran Government were certified by foreign observers to have been largely fair in a procedural sense. The problem lies in the context. No guerrilla force will lay down arms to participate in an election supervised by its enemy when its members' lives may be at risk. Nor will the results of such an election necessarily reflect broad popular support for the victors. Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rhodesian Government candidate, easily won election as Prime Minister in a Government-held election, yet less than a year later, when an internationally supervised election was held, he received a minimal percentage of the vote.

Free and fair elections under international auspices, and with some form of guaranteed rights for all citizens, offer a more promising approach. While each party is unwilling to concede that its power must be shared, it may be more difficult for them to resist a broad-based international call for a fair and secure test of popular strength at the polls. Moreover, the conditions for an election are easier to negotiate than interim forms of power-sharing. The British were in a position to oversee such elections in Rhodesia; the United Nations, Organization of American States or a politically balanced group of countries could do so in El Salvador.

Winners of such an election are more likely to pursue more moderate policies than if they secured power through violence. The legacy of civil war has not miraculously vanished from Zimbabwe with the election, under international supervision, of Robert Mugabe as Prime Minister. But the situation is still preferable to any realistically conceivable circumstance should the civil war have continued. Mr. Mugabe's moderation, at least in external relations, would have been unlikely if he had come to power in the face of Western hostility and against the last-ditch resistance of his enemies.

No single outside nation has the leverage to bring all the parties to an agreement. Each Salvadoran side depends on outsiders' help and is susceptible to their leverage. A crucial factor in Rhodesia was the ability of British, American and interested African governments to bring all the parties together.

A diplomatic effort to exploit these conditions could be pursued in four stages.

First, the United States should explore the willingness of other key nations — Mexico, Venezuela, the Europeans, Cuba and others — to help bring the Salvadoran parties to an internationally supervised election and to abide by the results.

Second, after such an effort is agreed upon by outside parties, pressure must be applied on all the Salvadoran parties to meet for discussions — on the form of such an election and post-election guarantees for the political and personal rights and security of all citizens. Agreement on post-election dissolution of violent groupings on all sides and the creation of a new, controlled national armed force must be sought. An interim peace-keeping force would be needed to monitor a truce, preventing intimidation of voters and assuring a peaceful post-election period. Any parties refusing to participate in an election would be isolated internally and internationally.

Third, after an election was held, talks — with the same sponsors — could be encouraged among the governments of the region and other interested nations toward agreements guaranteeing respect for the borders of all. But with or without international agreements, a Salvadoran settlement should help reduce tensions between Nicaragua and its neighbors, improving the prospects for democracy on both sides of Nicaragua's borders.

Fourth, such an election would represent a beginning, not an end, to the Salvadoran healing process. Whoever won, Washington must continue to use economic leverage on behalf of pluralism and human rights, as we so sadly failed to do after the Sandinists seized power in Nicaragua, and, to its credit, the Administration now is doing in its aid programs for Zimbabwe.

Pursuit of such a diplomatic strategy may be unattractive to the Administration, in its implicit recognition that the Salvadoran Government is failing in its current course. But that Government's perilous state is a strong sign that it has not gained legitimacy with a large proportion of its population. A policy supporting such an election need not imply a precedent in our relations with friendly governments who maintain their house in better order. The Administration concedes its willingness to negotiate about a Salvadoran election. If this position is to offer practical progress rather than just rhetorical advantage, the essential next step is to work toward an election that is truly secure, free and fair.

**What kind of negotiations?**

**What kind of settlement?**

*Samuel R. Berger, a lawyer, was deputy director of the State Department policy planning staff from 1977 to 1980. Anthony Lake, professor of international relations at Amherst College, directed the staff at that time.*

# Arts & Leisure

## 'Danton's Death' Endures as Political Drama

By HENRY POPKIN

The French Revolution has in recent years reasserted its place as the theater's favorite insurrection, the great paradigm of all revolutions thereafter and a powerful litmus test for the representation of contemporary political issues. Peter Weiss's "Marat/Sade" in 1964 presented a debate which drew its dramatic strength from the unresolved conflict between its pro-and anti-revolutionary protagonists. Ariane Mnouchkine's "1789", staged in Paris in 1970 was quite unambiguous in championing the revolution and, for its enthusiastic audiences, invoked memories of the French uprising of 1968 and regretful thoughts of what might have been. Andrzej Wajda's film "Danton," which uses the great revolutionary adversaries, Danton and Robespierre, as symbolic precursors of the current East-West struggle, and which has already stirred heated controversy in France, also grew out of a play ("Danton's Case" by Stanislawa Przybyszewska), previously directed for the stage by the Polish filmmaker.

Now, CSC Repertory is reviving the prototype for these revolutionary debate plays — Georg Büchner's "Danton's Death". Written in 1835 in a few days by a German social rebel of 21 who had given no earlier signs of ambitions as a dramatist and who died in 1837, after writing two other remarkable plays, "Danton's Death" is one of the world's landmark dramas, not only because of its subject, but also because of its daring and complex form. The CSC production, directed by Christopher Martin, with Tom Spiller in the title role and Noble Shropshire as Robespierre, opens next Sunday.

"Danton's Death" was published immediately after its writing in an imperfect text and became available in corrected form only in 1879. The difficulties of staging it and its concern with revolutionary politics kept it from the stage until 1910, but it did not truly enter the international repertory until 1916, when Max Reinhardt brilliantly directed it in Berlin. Extravagantly praised for its handling of lights and of crowds, it was this production which, in a later incarnation, took New York by storm in 1927.

Nevertheless, "Danton's Death" has not become a popular favorite in the English-speaking world, though it has received some interesting testimonials to its lasting interest. It was, for example, the first play to be done at the new Vivian Beaumont Theater of Lincoln Center in 1965, and one of the very few plays to have been given two productions in the short history of London's National Theater.

"Danton's Death" is considered by many to have inaugurated the modern drama. Inspired by his enthusiasm for his two masters, Shakespeare and Goethe, Büchner wrote a vivid play, consisting of 32 brief scenes which give a bewildering variety of perspectives on the two main opponents — Danton and Robespierre — their supporters, and the fickle Parisian mob.

Dealing with the last episodes of the power struggle between Danton and Robespierre, Büchner seems to be writing an anti-drama with an anti-hero. In the play's short scenes Danton meditates, coins aphorisms, and otherwise amuses himself, both in a brothel and in the company of his young bride, while his friends warn him that he must bestir himself and take arms against the bloodthirsty, businesslike, ostentatiously virtuous Robespierre. Only when he has been arrested and is well on his way to condemnation and the guillotine, does Danton begin to employ his oratorical skills — but too late.

"Danton's Death" foreshadows later plays on the same subject not only in its central debate, but also in its ambivalence about the meaning of the revolutionary events. Büchner was a serious revolutionary and who, in the very year that he wrote this play, wrote an inflammatory pamphlet directed against the German princes and took flight to avoid arrest. In his capacity as a radical, he would surely have been only too happy to paint the revolution in the most cheerful colors, but, as an honest man, what could he say? Whatever one thinks of Robespierre — and, Büchner's thoughts of him were complex — his ruthless suppression of his rivals led only to Napoleon and, ultimately, to the restoration of the monarchy, which was back in power when Büchner wrote.

The problems already implicit in the play became even greater once another revolution made it difficult to see Danton and Robespierre in isolation. Behind Robespierre stood the looming shadow of Stalin, and behind Danton was Trotsky, who, like Danton, was his revolution's great orator, a civilian remarkably skillful at military organization and a man fatally afflicted by distaste for the struggle for power. Also, Stalin's political tactics curiously resembled Robespierre's: both of them first eliminated the left opposition, (in France, Hébert, whose execution is spoken of at the beginning of "Danton's Death") and then the right opposition (Danton in Paris, Bukharin in Moscow).

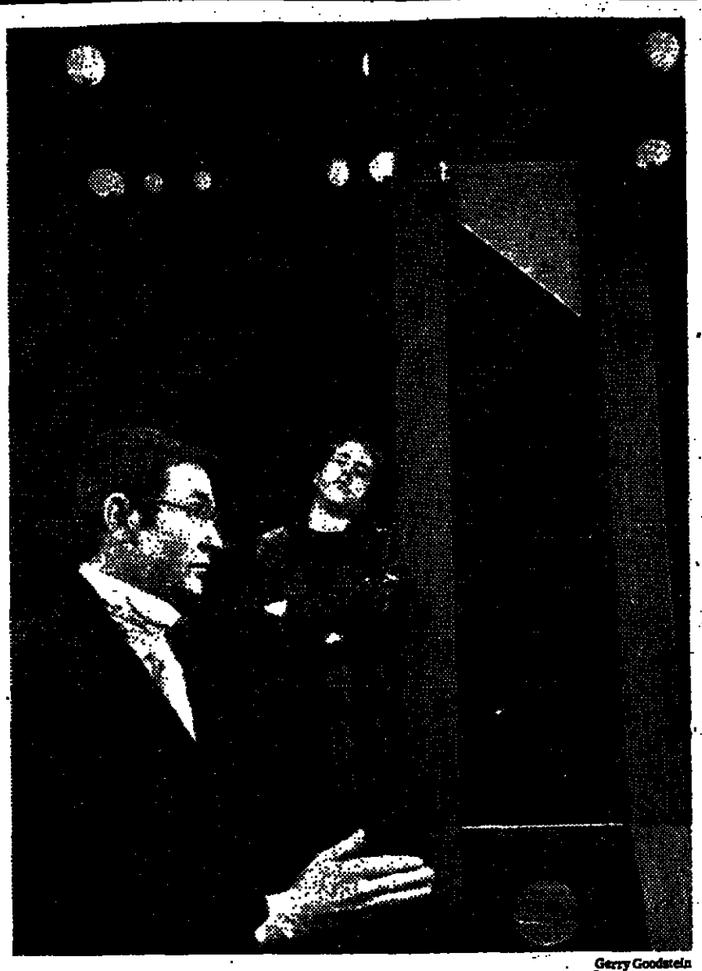
In Reinhardt's version, Danton carried the day, and it is hard to imagine any other result — though the play has continued to be seen against the background of ongoing events and to arouse strong political passions. John Houseman has written that when his colleague Orson Welles staged the Mercury Theater production of "Danton's Death" in New York in 1938, representatives of the Communist Party prevailed on him to remove "a few of the more obvious Trotsky-Stalin parallels." "In exchange," Mr. Houseman wrote, "the Party agreed not to boycott us: they merely withheld their support." The French Communists were similarly displeased when Jean Vilar staged the play in France (and acted Robespierre opposite Daniel Ivernel's strong Danton) in 1953, a month after Stalin's death. The show trials had just taken place in the satellites, and so history had furnished new Dantons, more recent than Trotsky and Bukharin. The Communist press fell upon Vilar furiously, asserting that Danton was as guilty as Rajk in Hungary and Slansky in Czechoslovakia (both of whom were posthumously exonerated). By the time Vilar revived "Danton's Death" in 1959, however, Khrushchev had altered Stalin's image, and thus made the play less controversial. Even so, Eastern Europe has been slow to embrace "Danton's Death," and the first East German version was considerably rewritten to give greater weight to Robespierre's case.

But it is not only directors of Büchner's play who found it difficult to maintain proper balance between the two foes. The problem has affected other plays on the subject. In 1900, the French novelist and dramatist Romain Rolland contributed a "Danton" to his series of plays about the French Revolution and supported his eponymous hero. Long afterward, in 1939, Rolland, who was not a Communist but sympathized with the Communist cause, apparently became troubled by the Russian parallels, and so he wrote more generously of Danton's enemy in his "Robespierre." As for "Marat/Sade," its author, Peter Weiss, persevered in his study of Marx and complained that successive productions of "Marat/Sade" in West Berlin, London, and New York did not make it sufficiently clear that Marat's case for the revolution was stronger than Sade's arguments against it. And yet, he would add that the usurper Napoleon stood for Stalin.

Stranger ambiguities are present in Andrzej Wajda's interpretations of Stanislawa Przybyszewska's "The Danton Case." In its Polish stage production, it was manifestly an anti-Danton play in which a lean, ungenerous-looking Danton (who rather resembled the historical Robespierre) urged that the two revolutionaries should, since they were superior persons, be united against the masses. And yet, this play is the unlikely basis of Wajda's film which has been so adapted by Jean-Claude Carrière (and, no doubt, by Mr. Wajda himself) as to turn things around and make Danton the hero.

And what will the CSC make of "Danton's Death"? Christopher Martin, who directs and also plays the small role of Tom Paine, seen briefly as one of Danton's cellmates, views the work as a parable of the fate of a revolution when it passes from its idealistic founders to its bureaucratic managers. This, Mr. Martin says, is what he fears to be the fate of all revolutions. Because of this modern reference, he has tried to make his images accessible and contemporary. The play is staged with minimal decor and in 1940's costumes, though with some allusions in the attire to 1794. He has also tried to play fair in the great debate that dominates the play, and, hard as it seems, he has been concerned to make Robespierre sound more reasonable. Essentially, in the world's view of this matter Danton has won. Indeed, he may be said to have won less than three months after his death, when Robespierre followed him to the guillotine.

*Henry Popkin is a professor of English at the State University of New York at Buffalo.*



Gerry Goodstein

Noble Shropshire (left) is Robespierre and Tom Spiller is Danton in the CSC Repertory production of Georg Büchner's "Danton's Death," opening next Sunday.

*"The French Revolution has reasserted itself as the theater's favorite insurrection and the paradigm of all revolutions thereafter."*

Büchner's play is considered to have inaugurated modern drama.

## Scholars Set Sail on A Murky Verdian Sea

By DONAL HENAHAN

The most important music publication of the year is not, hard though it may be to believe, that admirably exhaustive biography of Maestro Ricco Opolento, the titan of the podium who used to conduct Bach's B-minor Mass using only his left eyebrow. Nor is it the equally weighty (5 pounds, 3 ounces) study of the art of Melissa Altissa, the celebrated Transylvanian coloratura whose highest notes are said to induce tachycardia in bats. Books such as these, which come flooding out each season, serve definite purposes — they make wonderful door stops, for instance. Sometimes they also add an infinitesimal something to the sum of human knowledge. We true fans swallow such volumes voraciously, exactly as other readers gulp down murder mysteries or best-sellers by discredited statesmen. But so few books about music or musicians can be taken seriously, except as exercises in historical fiction or career promotion, that the occasional worthwhile publication stands out like a swan on a duck pond.

Worthwhile is, in fact, the mildest sort of praise that can be applied to "Rigoletto," the first volume to appear in "The Works of Giuseppe Verdi," a critical edition of the composer's music being put out jointly by the University of Chicago Press and G. Ricordi, the Italian publishing house. In many ways, this edition illustrates the state of the art in musical scholarship. The modern researcher is part of a team of specialists, each of whom contributes his mite to the pot. Long gone are the days of the self-propelled individualists such as Alexander Wheelock Thayer, the New York and Boston law student, journalist and minor diplomat who decided in 1849 to write Beethoven's biography and went roving about Europe on his own hook in search of material. Today, Thayer's research would be subsidized by public or private philanthropy (universities, foundations, corporations, wealthy individuals) and much of his work could be done at home by means of microfilmed or photostated documents and tireless computers.

By current reckoning, the new Verdi project will take more than 30 years years to complete. It will certainly be going on well into the 21st century. The "Rigoletto" edition, which was financed by grants from two Chicagoans, Brena D. and Lee A. Freeman, as well as the National Endowment for the Humanities, is therefore barely a beginning: besides Verdi's 26 operas, there will be new editions of all his other music. But already the project promises to be the most significant development in the history of Verdi scholarship, which has traditionally lagged far behind the work done on behalf of other major composers, especially the Germans.

To some extent, this lag was the fault of Ricordi itself, which for many years chose to keep its trove of Verdi material close to its chest. About 25 years ago, however, the publisher began to allow freer access by scholars, with startling results. Most Verdi scores circulating in the world were discovered to be filled with printing errors, editorial misreadings, inexplicable cuts and other disfigurements. Little by little, Verdi specialists began to band together and share information to bring into sharper focus not only the scores themselves but biographical facts surrounding them. One recent result of this new Verdian scholarship, for instance, has been Julian Budden's magnificent three-volume study, "The Operas of Verdi," published in this country by Oxford University Press. Even so, some 80 years after the composer's death, there still was no complete edition of his music available.

Now we have the first installment in a complete reexamination of the scores under the overall editorship of Philip Gossett, with the aid of Mr. Budden, Martin Chusid, Francesco Degrada, Ursula Günther and Giorgio



In 30 years, a definitive Verdi?

Pestelli. Mr. Chusid was the editor in charge of the "Rigoletto" edition, whose $200 cost includes a beautifully printed, sturdily bound full score (all orchestral, choral and solo vocal parts) as well as a separate book of critical, bar-by-bar commentary that is staggeringly detailed. While the price level makes it unlikely that these volumes, as they appear, will find their way onto the average Verdi lover's shelves, all major libraries, music schools and opera companies will need them, just as responsible musicians now must have access to the Neue Bach-Ausgabe or the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe. The first performance of the new edition of "Rigoletto" took place last Sunday at the Vienna State Opera under Riccardo Muti's baton. New York's turn will no doubt come soon.

Not that every discovery or interpretation in this "Rigoletto" will be honored by every singer, conductor or director. It is neither possible nor desirable to put any work of art in a straitjacket, as the puniest academicians often try to do. Interpreters will always want to slip the bonds. The eternal struggle between purity and practicality is not merely inevitable but one of the dynamic forces that keep the musical world going around. As the editor himself makes clear in the introduction, there are still many mysteries about mid-19th century performance practices, especially in the vocal realm. Sometimes in his autograph Verdi provides neither tempo nor dynamic indications for the voices. He does not always insist on this or that way of phrasing. The editor — and ultimately the performer — must make a choice.

Sometimes, there is no way to be certain which instruments he required: several low brass instruments such as the serpent and the ophicleide were grouped together under the general terms *bombardone* or *cimbasso* in Italian opera houses of the period. In modern performances, varieties of tuba probably would be substituted. When the *banda*, or military band, is in action offstage Verdi does not invariably make clear which instruments it should include, or how many (at some points he merely asks for *pochi stromenti*, or "few instruments"). Both in pit orchestra and band, there is much confusion about whether the bass drum is to be played alone or with cymbals. The question of how or whether to deploy the three instrumental ensembles he may have wanted playing simultaneously for 83 bars in the Introduction to Act One (pit orchestra, string orchestra on stage and stage band) is left unresolved. He seems to have intended this as a kind of homage or allusion to Mozart's use of three similar ensembles in the first-act finale of "Don Giovanni." However, those 83 bars appear only in Verdi's autograph and in no other contemporary source, which suggests that he agreed to delete them at the premiere because of performance complications. Mr. Chusid suggests that "With modern conducting techniques and closed-circuit television, performances following Verdi's original intentions have become possible and may well prove successful."

However, the modern-day conductor of "Rigoletto" has an identity problem: he is a phantom, historically speaking. At the time "Rigoletto" was first produced in Venice, in 1851, Italian operas were performed without a conductor. The concertmaster gave whatever cues were thought necessary both for stage and pit. By modern standards, ensemble must have been anything but precise and frequently slipshod. Singers, moreover, almost certainly went their own way more blithely than they do now, which might account for the comparative scarcity of instructions as to vocal phrasing, accent, tempo and embellishment.


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*Hebrew vowel markings. Pronounced: Bank Ha-poh-ah-leem.

# Bridges to Hispanics

By LEON HADAR/Post New York Correspondent

ONE SEGMENT of American journalism that did not join the anti-Israeli chorus during the war in Lebanon was the Spanish-language media.

Hispanic journalists such as Gustavo Godoy, a comentator for the Spanish-language television network (SIN) and Ariel Remos, a writer for Miami's *Diaro de las Americas* expressed a sympathetic approach to the Israeli position. *El Diario-La Prensa* of New York, a major Spanish-language daily, published several pro-Israeli editorials. In one titled "Humanity and justice," the paper praised the report of the Kahan Commission as reflecting the "conscience of a people which has known suffering and persecution as few in history."

Hispanic Americans are the fastest-growing ethnic community in the U.S. Official statistics count 14 million of them, but not with the "illegals" which probably put their number at more than 20 million. Some observers predict that this figure will more than double by the next century. Hispanics may become the majority in some areas and have a major impact on domestic and foreign policy.

"The American-Jewish community is now in the midst of a major effort to engage in coalition building with the Hispanic community," says Jacobo Kovadloff, the head of the Latin American department of the American Jewish Committee (AJC). Kovadloff's focus of work is the major cities on the East and West Coast, especially New York, Miami and in California, where the Hispanic community is concentrated.

A majority of the community's leadership is liberal politically and connected with groups in the Democratic Party who have long-standing links with the Jewish community, says Kovadloff. "We hope to some day establish a coalition with the Hispanics in the party," he adds.

One major influence inhibiting relations between the two communities has been a certain negative stereotype of Jews shared by traditional Hispanic-Catholics, including the educated elements in the community. Recently Kovadloff addressed a group of Hispanic Catholics in a church in the Bronx about the Holy Land and religious freedom in Israel. After the meeting, an educated young woman approached him and expressed support for Israel, asking why he didn't visit the church more often. When Kovadloff told her that he was a Jew, she was shocked. "I reminded her that Jesus was also a Jew, and she exploded with anger and told me 'don't insult us.'"

IN FEBRUARY Hispanic and Jewish Americans got together at AJC headquarters for "an open exchange of views" on misconceptions that have separated them in the past. Father Alvaro Corrada Del Rio and Father Carlos Mullin represented the Catholic community.

Father Mullins declared that the Northeast Hispanic Catholic Centre, which sponsored the event with the AJC, considered it a "providential event" and added: "Hispanic Jews and Catholics who are united by faith in the same God, bound by the Covenant of Abraham, share a common age and common language, cannot but walk together and work toward a new society, without prejudice, more fraternal and more respectful of the religious traditions of each people."

Writing later in *El Diario-La Prensa*, Father Mullins recalled that "many centuries of persecution, prejudice and mutual attacks kept the Jewish and Catholic people separated, though they both came from a common heritage." He reminded his readers that on October 28, 1965, the Second Vatican Council published the Declaration on Church Relations with Non-Christian Religions, known by the Latin name "*Nostra Aetate.*" Section 4 of the declaration is dedicated to the Jewish religion. He added:

"I am convinced that a true dialogue, which John Paul II called an 'urgency of our time,' will only be possible if all sides begin to cultivate a mutual awareness and appreciation. For that reason, the Hispanic Jews and Catholics in New York have begun a round-table discussion in the Hispanic tradition and have shaken hands as a sign of peace, shalom, to build an authentic interreligious relationship on the foundation of love."

The round-table discussion resulted in several suggestions, including:

- Greater diffusion of the teachings of Vatican Council II and of the rich Spanish-language literature on Judeao-Catholic relations;
- Examination and evaluation of material at the Madrid Centre for Jewish-Christian studies, written in Spanish and prepared by Jewish and Catholic experts;
- Organization of further study sessions and interfaith activities;
- A major annual meeting of Jewish and Catholic teachers for an in-depth study of the Bible, religious topics and rabbinical literature.

POLITICS, particularly the threat of terrorism, is another area of shared interest between the Jews and Hispanic Catholics.

Recently a special supplement prepared by the Jewish community and dealing with the ties between the PLO and Latin American terrorist groups was reproduced in the major Spanish-language newspapers in the U.S. More than 40 Spanish-language journalists from U.S. visited Israel in the last four years and keep in close touch with Israeli diplomats here.

Leaders in the Hispanic and Jewish communities recently attended a two-day conference on immigration and acculturation, held in Houston, which was also attended by government officials involved in immigration policy. A report summarizing the conference noted that Hispanics and Jews have "a commonality of experience in their strong desire to retain their unique cultural and historical identity."

Both come from cultures in which family, religion and tradition played a large role, while the society of the U.S. is non-traditional and secular and includes many institutions, such as the public schools, that tend to weaken the pull of the family.

Jews have largely failed to preserve Yiddish and Hebrew in the U.S., while Hispanics are much more vigilant about preserving their language. Some of the Hispanic participants complained at the conference that there is a negative attitude among Jewish intellectuals towards bilingualism in the U.S.

# Clues from robots

By ESTHER HECHT/Special to The Jerusalem Post

EVERYONE SEEMS to know J.R., but the world has yet to hear of R.R.

The mystery figure, whose initials stand for Respiratory Robot, is a super-sophisticated machine that breathes as humans do. It can be programmed to simulate breathing at any exercise level and, unlike humans, can work hard around the clock without getting tired.

R.R. is the latest invention of Professor Eliezer Kamon at the Research Laboratory for Human Performance of Pennsylvania State University. He designed the robot to test exercise respirators — emergency safety devices which provide oxygen and absorb carbon dioxide for people who must escape from danger when toxic gases are present. Such people are coal miners, workers in industries where explosions are possible and soldiers exposed to poison-gas warfare.

Until R.R. was developed, exercise respirators had to be tested on humans, a costly and difficult procedure. "We need to know whether the respirator works when you are running for your life," explains Kamon, "and it's hard to test this accurately with human subjects."

It took two years to build R.R., since the parts had to be painstakingly fashioned and fitted by hand. "Unlike most industrial robots which imitate simple one-joint movements, R.R. simulates a complex physiological function," says Kamon.

Designing machines like R.R. is part of the growing field of ergonomics, the science of improving work conditions. Jerusalem-born Kamon, 52, entered the field when it was still in its infancy, and thus brought together two major interests in his life.

A gymnast in his youth, he was Israel's champion all-round gymnast for eight consecutive years, winning medals at the Maccabi Games.

After graduating from the Wingate Institute, he studied zoology at the Hebrew University, earning a doctorate for his study of the immunization mechanism in locusts in response to yellow scorpion venom.

"I FIRST thought I would combine my background in physical ability with zoology by studying the physiology of sports, but this discipline did not yet exist in Israel. It was during my post-doctorate year in England that I became interested in ergonomics, a much broader field."

The nascent discipline was more developed in England than anywhere else in the world, including the U.S., where research on work conditions had emphasized the psychological, rather than the physiological, aspects of work.

When Kamon arrived in the U.S. in 1966 with his newly-gained expertise, he was welcomed with open arms and given every opportunity to develop his own sub-specialty, the relation between man and his environment under heat stress.

"In Israel, everyone knows how exhausting it can be to exercise or work outdoors on a hot summer's day. But I am concerned mainly with what happens when people have to work in man-made environments that are very hot.

"For example, when nuclear power stations shut down for maintenance, they are very hot and humid inside. The maintenance workers must wear special garments to protect them from radiation, and this exacerbates the problem.

"In steel mills, smelting plants, conventional power plants and even bakeries, workers become overheated. The same thing happens to soldiers in a tank. This overheating affects both their health and their ability to work."

KAMON HAS developed a computerized method of planning work and rest so as to achieve maximum protection of workers' health and top productivity.

Another aspect of ergonomics that interests Kamon is what he calls "worker's strength."

"Any worker who packs and lifts boxes all day long is likely to develop backache, even if the boxes are not heavy. A worker on an assembly line may develop pain in his shoulder if the height of the machinery forces him into an unnatural posture. As with overheating, the result is damage to health and reduced productivity."

To study the problem, Kamon has designed a relatively inexpensive, portable machine to measure dynamic strength. "Unlike previou machines which measured onl static strength and told us litt about what happens when a psrsor is working, my machine can b brought to the industrial plant t measure the 'strength' needed b the worker in action."

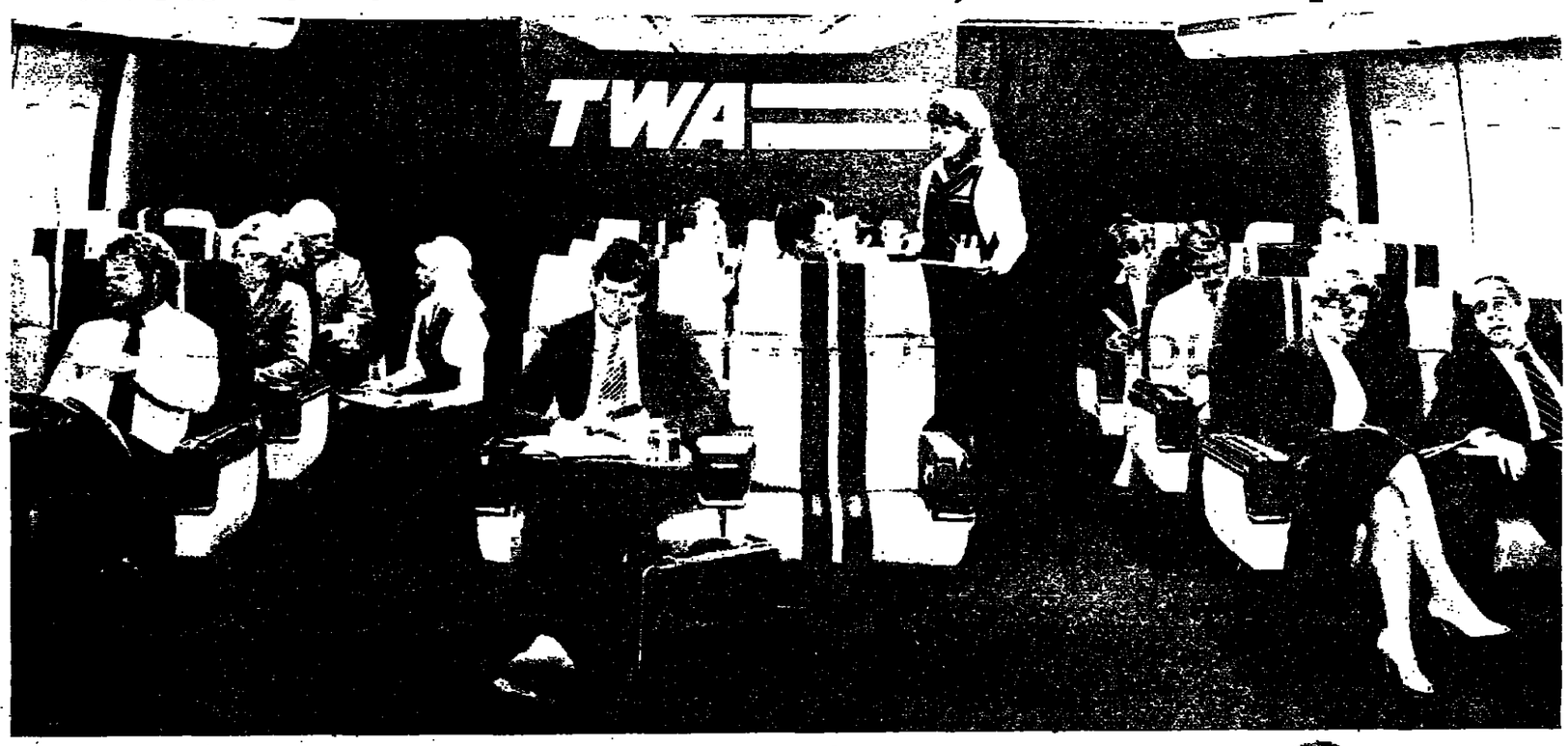
Most of Kamon's research, however, is conducted in the lab, where work conditions are simulated. In a climatic chamber he can control temperature, humidity, air flow (to simulate wind) and radiant heat.

INTEREST in ergonomics is growing in Israel, says Kamon, especially in the engineering and medical faculties of the Ben-Gurion University and also at Tel Aviv University. The Israel Defence Forces are trying to solve problems of heat stress faced by soldiers in the desert, sailors in boiler rooms of ships and in submarines, helicopter pilots exposed to the sun and soldiers in tanks.

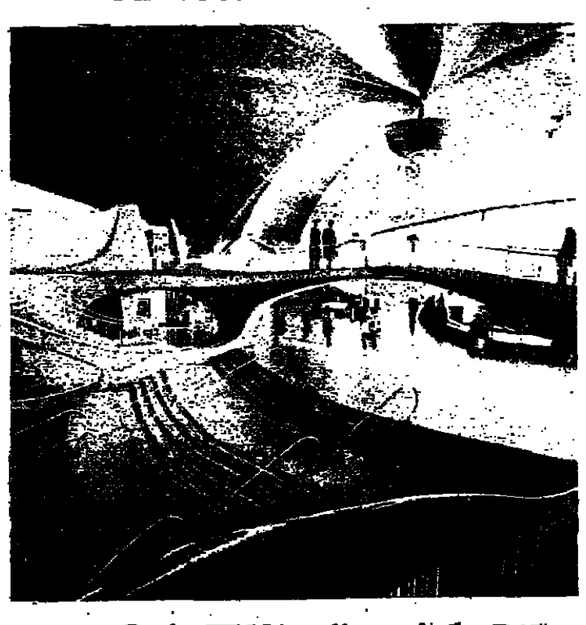
The Ira Foundation for Quality of Work, directed by Moshe Gertzberg and named for his son, a pilot who was shot down in the Yom Kippur War, is actively promoting awareness of the field. Kamon volunteered his time to give a two-day seminar this week, sponsored by the foundation, on "the physiological basis for the design of work and rest."

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# Flying Tigers sells Metro Int'l line back to Israelis

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

TEL AVIV. — Metro International, which flies between New York and Tel Aviv, is about to change hands. The small airline owned by Flying Tigers will revert to Tower Air by the end of October, one of Tower Air's owners, Ze'ev Melamed, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

He said the change was part of Flying Tigers' attempt to cut overall losses. Flying Tigers, which is a major U.S. cargo carrier, established the small passenger airline when it found itself possessing three used Boeing 747s, bought for speculation. The passenger planes were delivered during the recent slump in aviation and the decision to fly them to Israel was taken to keep them in operation.

Several months ago, however, the planes were sold to Pan American. Flying Tigers was said to have suffered from a lack of experience in carrying passengers. It has already transferred to its general sales agents — Morris Nahtomi and Ze'ev Melamed — the responsibility for marketing.

Melamed and Nahtomi, who run Tower Air, have bought a used Boeing 747 from Braniff, which had gone bankrupt. They will use Flying Tigers' crews until their own staff is ready in seven months, Melamed said.

Passengers will not feel the change at first, but Melamed expressed the hope that Israelis will make up at least half the cabin crew to create an Israeli atmosphere.

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### Imports and Big competition begin to tell

# Small plants are hard pressed to maintain their work force

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hundreds of workers in small plants and workshops are in danger of losing their jobs after Pessah because their employers cannot compete against "dumping" imports. They are also not in a position to afford more modern machinery, leaders of the association of Craftsmen and Small Manufacturers warned at a press conference here yesterday.

Ya'akov Frank, chairman of the association, said his members are not asking the government for handouts. They want the same subsidized loans to buy new equipment which go to approved enterprises in development areas. "Until about six years ago, we were able to replace obsolete equipment on our own and to keep up with technological advances, but since then doors have been closed to us," he said. He added that dumping has to stop and the government should also no longer subsidize imports by letting the currency devaluation lag behind inflation. "We do not want to pay our workers the low wages workers in Hongkong get, but if the French can limit imports from Spain and Italy, why can't we do the same?" Frank asked.

A representative of the association's textile division said three firms employing 160 workers will close after the holiday because the subcontracting work for export which they did is no longer available. The wood division also reported the closing of dozens of carpentry shops, with many more in danger of going out of business.

Yosef Hameiri, head of the metal division, complained that U.S. companies which agree to have work done here under "buy-back" agreements only want to place orders with large firms. These firms then buy new equipment, which becomes idle when the job is done. The necessary equipment is available among small manufacturers here, he said, but the big firms refuse to subcontract the work.

"Some of our former members are now importers," Frank said, "and that may happen to more of us, unless the government takes action."

# New Convention Centre has 17 bookings

By CAROL COOK
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The new Israel Convention centre, scheduled to open on March 31, is already booked for eight conferences this year and another eight in 1984.

Located in the Tel Aviv Fairgrounds, the centre was built at a cost of 13.5 million, according to the director of the Fairgrounds, Ya'acov Bar-Gera. He told a press conference yesterday that an international nursing congress is scheduled at the centre for 1985, to which over 10,000 participants are expected. Without the new centre, which was built in a little over one year, Israel would not be able to host a conference of that size, he added.

The new facilities include a central building with 5,000 square metres of floor space that can accommodate 4,000 people. Smaller conference rooms add up to a total area of 7,000sq.m.

Other facilities include an amphitheatre with 2,000 seats, a cafeteria and 11 conference rooms. The entire complex has central heating and airconditioning and is equipped for simultaneous translation in six languages.

The Convention Centre is a public corporation, 80 per cent of whose shares are held by Tel Aviv Municipality. The rest is divided among Hevrat Ovdim, the Manufacturers Association, the Tel Aviv-Yafo Chamber of Commerce, among others.

# U.S. loan to Egypt to buy farm products

WASHINGTON (AP). — Egypt has been extended an additional $32.5 million in special credit to buy U.S. farm products, the U.S. Agriculture Department said Friday. The so-called "blended credit" package includes $6m. in direct interest-free loans and $26m. in guaranteed loans at commercial bank rates.

Officials said Egypt will use the credit to buy corn, livestock semen and lumber from the U.S.

Last autumn Egypt received an initial special credit package totalling $110m. to buy U.S. agricultural products.

# Your money and your questions

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

**QUESTION: How fast are my orders for foreign securities carried out?**

**ANSWER:** Local banks, in cooperation with American brokerage representatives here, execute buy and sell orders for U.S. securities in the same time it would take if the order was given at a broker's office in America. The banks and brokers have telex lines to Wall Street which enable them to transmit orders and receive confirmations in a matter of minutes. Through Reuter monitors quotations from most of the world's stock exchanges are available almost instantly.

**QUESTION: If I had converted dollars into shekels at the end of December 1982 and invested them in local shares, would I be ahead now?**

**ANSWER:** The time you mention covers the January collapse of prices. Checking back statistics from the beginning of the year to March 9, one notes that in dollar terms all sectors of trading suffered losses, with the exception of the banks. According to the commercial bank share index for this period, a 3.6 per cent dollar gain was realized. If one includes bank options, the yield grows to 13.1 per cent. Had you invested your dollars in the shares of commerce and service equities over this time, you would have suffered a 48 per cent loss.

**QUESTION: What is the price-earnings ratio for the shares of the Dead Sea Works?**

**ANSWER:** According to reports by National Consultants the price-earnings ratio for the Dead Sea Works based on last year's earnings and expressed in March 1983 prices is 6. Teva, another quality share, by comparison has a price earnings ratio of 14. The shares of the American-Israeli Paper Mills have a ratio of 17.

**QUESTION: I have IS20,000 to invest and I want to buy Bank Hapoalim shares. How can I figure out the number of shares I can buy with my money?**

**ANSWER:** On the day I looked at the stock quotations, shares of Bank Hapoalim traded at IS43.41. By dividing the cost of the share into the amount of money available, you will be able to buy about 460 shares.

**QUESTION: I pulled my money out of the stock market just before the "crash" in January. Is now a good time to move back in?**

**ANSWER:** First of all, I am pleased to hear you had the foresight to cash in your chips at the right time. Many investors say they have done just that, but only a few really did so. Regarding the future, please believe me when I say that I do not possess a crystal ball. It does appear that judicious and conservative investments will in the long run give a real yield, when taking into account inflation or the rate of devaluation of the shekel against the dollar. By "judicious and conservative" I mean the shares of the companies which are expected to have reasonable profits and whose shares trade good price-earnings ratios.

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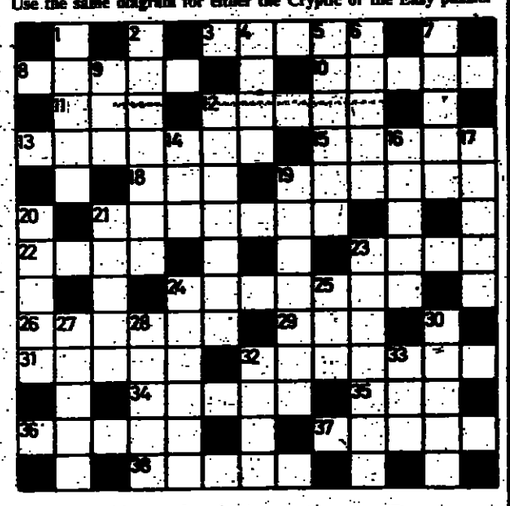
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# TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



**CRYPTIC PUZZLE**

**ACROSS**
3 Doesn't go off (5)
8 Change early for the race (5)
10 Liable to be scratched (5)
11 Turn in opposite directions, Sol (3)
12 Please operate and extinguish (5)
13 Big-headed hero of boys' stories (7)
15 Subdues many in the East, possibly (5)
18 Used to be half wasted (3)
19 Water mysteriously stolen (6)
21 Letter from London (7)
22 Tie up Othello (4)
23 It may occur at almost any time (4)
24 Roy takes spilt ink to heart (7)
26 Thought heavenly (6)
29 Carrying too much weight aft? (3)
31 Money taken by writers (5)
32 A grave occasion (7)
34 Remaining in the picture (5)
35 Drop off, so to speak (3)
36 Fight with me and Sammy, say (5)
37 One who can get sums dead right somehow? (5)
38 Stomach food (5)

**DOWN**
1 Adhesive for making reins? (5)
2 In which lots of criminals disagree violently (4, 3)
4 Rose to become a deity (4)
5 A weapon of character (6)
6 Go quietly, as a criminal? (5)
7 The brilliance of Barry, we hear (5)
9 Pull by the ear (3)
12 Wanted by teacher, indeed! (7)
14 Is this record for drinking? (3)
16 Fixes a lot of objects (5)
17 It may finally be backbreaking! (5)
19 What a bag, roughly speaking, can hold (7)
20 Capital morning, fellow (5)
21 He could paint a bird about right (5)
23 Means to melt tin for purposes (7)
24 Fool in motley attire (6)
25 Gillian's boy (3)
27 Senior member possibly much annoyed! (5)
28 Change the position of trees, possibly? (5)
30 Bird paddling around? (5)
32 Show agitation in the wings? (4)
33 Nominal punishment (3)

**EASY PUZZLE**

**ACROSS**
3 "Per ardua ad —" (5)
8 Simple dwelling-place (5)
10 Publish (5)
11 Swine (3)
12 Sailing-vessel (5)
13 Signalling flag (7)
15 Pull hard (5)
18 Frozen water (3)
19 Soft (6)
21 Deer horns (7)
22 Yearn (4)
23 Potato, slang (4)
24 Ideal (7)
26 Abounded (6)
29 Distant (3)
31 Watering-place (5)
32 Indispensably (7)
34 Impassive type (5)
35 Golfer's peg (3)
36 Strong alloy (5)
37 Perfume (5)
38 Allude (5)

**DOWN**
1 Playful, skip (5)
2 Autographing (7)
4 Type of pudding (4)
5 Wealth (6)
6 Grey (5)
7 Bend (5)
9 Receptacle (3)
12 Tolled (7)
14 Perform (3)
16 Make suitable (5)
17 Eat away (5)
19 Commerce (7)
20 Planet (5)
21 South American mountains (5)
23 Slight wound (7)
24 Pounding instrument (6)
25 Consume (3)
27 Soil (5)
28 Skinflint (5)
30 Mix (5)
32 Loathsome (4)
33 Shelter (3)

**Yesterday's Cryptic Solution**

ACROSS.—1, Spoon. 6, Dutch. 9, Cause-lot. 10, Civet. 11, Sally. 12, Marsh. 13, Remo-Val. 15, Fib. 17, Edit. 18, Mexico (City) 19, Polar. 20, Driver. 22, A-she. 24, Yam. 25, 'Tain't-ED. 26, A-bout. 27, Douro. 28, P-e-t-al. 29, AD-mirer. 30, Cab-by. 31, A-Sid-E.

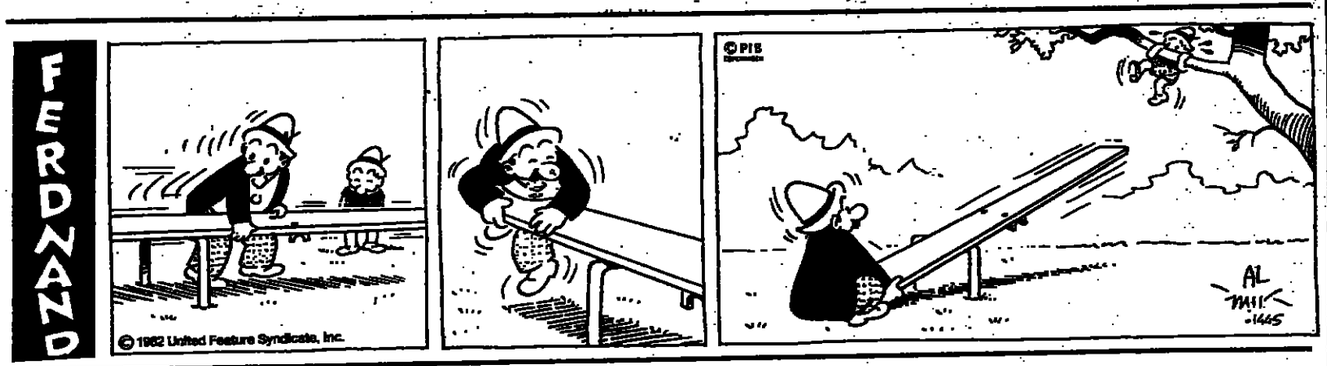
DOWN.—1, Pa-ire-d. 3, Ocelot. 4, N-at. 5, Pedal. 6, Dossier. 7, U-tah. 8, Celtic. 12, Major. 13, Ready. 14, Minim. 15, First. 16, Boxed. 18, MA-rat. 19, Peabody. 21, Ramona. 22, Augers. 23, Herald. 25, Tulip. 26, Arab. 28, Pea.

**Yesterday's Easy Solution**

ACROSS.— 1, Climb. 6, Ketch. 9, Ailment. 10, Smart. 11, Octet. 12, Beech. 13, Stellar. 15, Let. 17, Isle. 18, Desire. 19, Flood. 20, Erodes. 22, Peas. 24, New. 25, Strange. 26, Wails. 27, Pupil. 28, Scent. 29, Revenue. 30, Stays. 31, Bleak.

DOWN.—2, Limits. 3, Marble. 4, Bit. 5, Amber. 6, Knocked. 7, Etch. 8, Clever. 12, Bails. 13, Siren. 14, Elbow. 15, Liken. 16, Tease. 18, Dolts. 19, Females. 21, Robust. 22, Parcel. 23, Agenda. 25, Sleet. 26, Wiry. 28, Sub.

**Solutions to today's puzzle tomorrow**




# WHAT'S ON

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**Jerusalem**

**MUSEUMS**

**Israel Museum. Exhibitions:** Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art and Archeology: Bezalel 1906-1929; Art of Bezalel Teachers; Portables; Letterheads by Pentagram; Primitive Art from Museum collection; How to Look at a Painting; Special Exhibits: Seder Plate. Vienna 1925; Japanese Miniature Sculpture, 18th-19th cent. Netsuke and Inro; Pilgrim Souvenir Objects and Christian Lamps; Clay Jug and Juglet, Middle Canaanite Period IIA; Kadesh Barnea, fortress from Judean Kingdom (Rockefeller Museum); Wonderful World of Paper (Paley Centre next to Rockefeller Museum). Illuminated Haggadot. 18th cent.
**Visiting Hours:** Main Museum 10-5. At 11: Guided tour in English. 3.30: Guided tour of Shrine of the Book (in English). 11 and 3: "The Laughing Monster", theatre show for children with audience participation.

**CONDUCTED TOURS**

**HADASSAH** — Guided tour of all installations * Hourly tours at Kiryat Hadassah and Hadassah Mt. Scopus. * Information, reservations: 02-416333, 02-426271.
**Hebrew University:**
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28.
2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Building. Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-882819.
**American Mizrachi Women.** Free Morning tours — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-699222.
**CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM TOUR.** Call 02-667404.

**Tel Aviv**

**MUSEUMS**

**Tel Aviv Museum. New Exhibitions:** New Painting from Germany (opens 15.3 at 7 p.m.). New Painting (from Joshua Gessel Collection): Castelli, McLean, Paladino, A. R. Penck, Expedition to the Holy Land. **Continuing Exhibitions:** Helmar Lerski, Photographs 1910-1947. Michal Na'aman 1975-1983 (Helena Rubinstein Pavilion). Visiting Hours: Sun.-Thur. 10-10. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-2; 7-10.
**Helena Rubinstein Pavilion:** New Exhibition — Michal Na'aman 1975-1983. Visiting Hours: Sun.-Thur. 9-1; 5-9. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-2.

**CONDUCTED TOURS**

**American Mizrachi Women.** Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 243106.
**WIZO:** To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232939; Jerusalem, 226060; Haifa, 89537.
**PIONEER WOMEN — NA'AMAT.** Morning tours. Call for reservations: Tel Aviv, 256096.

**Haifa**

**What's On in Haifa, dial 04-640840.**

**Rehovot**

**The Weizmann Institute.** Grounds open to public from 8.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 3.15 p.m. Friday 11.00 a.m. only.
**Tours of the Weizmann House** every half hour from 10.00 to 3.30 p.m., Sunday to Thursday. Nominal fee for admission to Weizmann House.
No visits on Saturdays and holidays.

# GENERAL ASSISTANCE

## EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

**Jerusalem:** Bella, 6 King David, 224856. Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315. Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108. Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate. 282058.
**Tel Aviv:** Sdeh Dov, 3 Hausner, 428510. Kupat Holim Leumit, 4 Heftman, 268271.
**Netanya:** Hanassi, 36 Weizmann, 23639.
**Haifa:** Yavne, 7 Ibn Sina, 672288. Segal, 53 Hatzmaut, K. Ata, 441280.

## DUTY HOSPITALS

**Jerusalem:** Bikur Holim (pediatrics), Hadassah E.K. (internal, surgery, orthopedics, E.N.T.), Misgav Ladach (obstetrics), Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology).
**Tel Aviv:** Rokah (pediatrics, internal, surgery).
**Netanya:** Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology).
**Misgav Ladach:** Open line 4-6 p.m. every Monday answers to obstetrics, gynecological, sterility, sexual functioning and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633356.

## POLICE

**Dial 100 in most parts of the country. In Tiberias dial 924444, Kiryat Shmona 48444.**

## FIRST AID

Magen David Adom first aid centres are open from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. Emergency home calls by doctors at fixed rates. Sick Fund members should enquire about rebate.

Phone numbers: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, — 101. Dan Region (Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak, Givatayim) — 781111.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ashdod 2222 | Nazareth 54333 |
| Ashkelon 23333 | Netanya 23333 |
| Bat Yam 58555/6 | Petah Tikva 912333 |
| Beersheba 78333 | Rehovot 054-51333 |
| Eilat 72333 | Rishon LeZion 942333 |
| Hadera 22333 | Safed 30333 |
| Holon 803133/4 | Tiberias 20111 |
| Nahariya 923333 | |

**"Eran" — Mental Health First Aid. Tel.: Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 253311, Haifa 538-888, Beersheba 48111; Netanya 35316.**

**Kupat Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv — 234819, Jerusalem — 816118, and Haifa — 88791.**

## FLIGHTS

**24-HOUR FLIGHT INFORMATION SERVICE**
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**03-295555 (20 lines)**

# ENTERTAINMENT

## TELEVISION

**EDUCATIONAL:**
9.00 Dindanim
9.10 Laurel and Hardy
9.30 Anna and the King of Siam (part 2)
9.55 The Mysterious Companion
10.25 Windmills in Britain
15.00 **Everyman's University:** High School English; Introduction to Global Sciences; Viewpoint
16.00 Handicrafts
16.15 Battle of the Planets
16.35 Follow Me — Beginners' English for Adults
17.00 A New Evening — live magazine
**CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES:**
17.30 Pollyanna: Final episode of a series based on Eleanor H. Porter's book
17.55 Murzipar — cartoons
**ARABIC-LANGUAGE** programmes:
18.30 News roundup
18.32 Sports
19.27 Programme Trailer
19.30 News
**HEBREW PROGRAMMES** resume at 20.00 with a news roundup
20.05 That's Hollywood — series about the movie industry
20.30 Near Ones and Dear Ones. Israeli series about relatives who live in the same apartment building, starring Yehoram Gaon, Liora Rivlin and Tiki Dayan
21.00 Mabat Newsreel
21.30 Kaz: The Avenging Angel
22.20 This Is The Time — weekly interview show
23.10 Aharon Meskin — portrait of the actor who died in 1974
23.40 News
**JORDAN TV (unofficial):**
17.30 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour (19.00 JTV 3 The Muppet Show) 19.00 News in French 19.30 News in Hebrew 20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 The Other 'Arf (JTV 3 Computers) 21.10 Documentary 22.00 News in English 22.15 The Agatha Christie Hour

## ON THE AIR

### First Programme

6.11 Musical Clock
7.07 Beethoven: March from Ruins of Athens; Beethoven: 6 Variations on the March Theme from Ruins of Athens (Buchbinder); Purcell: Blow the Trumpet from Ode to Music; Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody No.6 (Boston Pops, Fiedler); Buch: Toccata and Fugue in D Minor (Fernando Germani, organ); Schubert: Psalm 23; Charpentier: The Night; Mozart: Flute Sonata, K.12 (Uri Shoham); Prokofiev: Troika from Lieutenant Kije
8.05 Rossini: Wilhelm Tell Overture (Israel Philharmonic, Mehta); Schumann: Trio in D Minor (Kung Wha Chung, Paul Tortelier, Andre Previn); Mahler: Lieder eines Fahrenden Gesellen (Fischer-Dieskau, Bavarian Radio Orchestra, Kubelik); Pachelbel: Canon in D Major; Mozart: Piano Concerto No.4 in G Major, K.41 (Geza Anda); Dvorak: The Golden Spinningwheel (Kertesz)
10.05 Beethoven-Liszt: Symphony No.5, First Movement (Glen Gould); Beethoven Mass in C Major, Op.86 (Karl Richter)
11.00 Sephardi Traditions
11.30 Education for All
12.05 The Fourth Arthur Rubinstein Piano Master Competition — The First Round — the First Day
13.00 Berlioz: March from Les Troyens (Beecham); Bloch: Scherzo Fantastique (Lorin Hollaender); Joan Frank-Williams: The Love of Teresa Dimou (Gila Yaron); Geminiani: Concerto Grosso; Ami Mazyani: Song of Songs (Kol Israel, Mendi Rodan); Handel: Aria from The Messiah (Janet Baker); Rimsky-Korsakov: Haleluyah (Ormandy)
14.10 Children's programmes
15.30 World of Science (repeat)
15.55 Notes on a New Book
16.05 Works by Beethoven — String Quintet, Op.29 (Guarneri and Pinhas Zukerman); Piano Concerto in D Major, Op.61a
17.35 Programmes for Olim
20.05 Everyman's University
20.35 The Danish Radio Orchestra, Gabriel Chmura conducting; with Erling Blondahl Bengsten, cello — Lutoslawski: Novelettes; Dvorak: Cello Concerto, Op.104; Mendelssohn: Symphony No.3, Scottish
22.30 Reflections on the Portion of the Week by Rabbi Zephania Drori
23.00 Criticize the Critic — discussion on form, content and fairness of musical criticism (part 2, repeat)
00.10 Choral Music — The Cameran Singers, Avner Itai conducting — Hassler: Intrada; Mozart: 4 Nocturnes for 3 Voices; Bach: Motet for Double Choir; Palestrina: Excerpts from Missa Brevis; Haydn: Evening Prayer

### Second Programme

7.00 This Morning — news magazine
8.05 Puss in Sandals
9.05 Morning Star
10.10 All Shades of the Network
12.05 Open Line — news and music
13.00 Midday — news commentary, music
14.10 Matters of Interest
16.10 From Here to There — immigration matters
17.25 Of People and Places
18.05 Religious Affairs Magazine
18.47 Bible Reading — Job 15:18-35
19.00 Today
20.10 Sabbath songs
22.05 Literary Magazine (repeat)
23.10 The Second Half — women's magazine

### Army

6.06 Morning Sounds
7.07 "707" — with Alex Ansky
8.05 IDF Morning Newsreel
9.05 Right Now — with Rafi Reshef
11.05 Musical Requests
12.05 Israeli Winter — with Erez Tal
13.05 One and to the Point
14.05 Two Hours
16.05 Four in the Afternoon
17.05 IDF Evening Newsreel
18.05 Army and Defence Magazine
19.05 Music Today — music magazine
20.05 Israeli Rock
21.00 Mabat Newsreel
22.05 Popular songs
23.05 True Life Story (repeat)
00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

### BBC

1322 kiloHertz:
World Service newsreels at 14.00, 17.00 and 20.15.

## CINEMAS

**JERUSALEM 4, 7, 9**
**Eden:** Long Way Home; **Edison:** L'as des As; **Habimah:** E.T. 4, 7, 9; **Kfir:** Six Weeks 4, 6.45, 9; **Mitchell:** Officer and a Gentleman 6.30, 9; **Orgil:** Jungle Book 4, 6, 8; **Orion:** Annie 4, 6.30, 9; **Oran:** Megilla 83; **Rex:** Night of San Lorenzo; **Semadar:** Return of a Soldier 7, 9.15; **Binyanei Ha'uma:** The Verdict 6.45, 9; **Cinema One:** Fame! 7, 9.30; **Cinematheque:** Dilinger 7; Hiroshima Mon Amour 9; Mira 9.30 (small hall).

**TEL AVIV 4.30, 7.15, 9.30**
**Allenby:** Bomber 4.30, 7.45, 9.30; **Ben-Yehuda:** World According to Garp 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Chen 1:** E.T. 2.30, 4.40, 7.10, 9.40; Pinocchio 10.15 a.m., 12.15; **Chen 2:** Pinocchio 2.30, 4.30, 6.30, 8.30; E.T. 10.15 a.m.; **Chen 3:** Diner 4.30, 7.15, 9.35; E.T. 10.15 a.m.; Pinocchio 2.30; **Chen 4:** Hard Day's Night 10.15, 12.15, 2.30, 4.30, 7.20, 9.30; **Chen 5:** Missing 4.30, 7, 9.30; Love Bug 10.15, 12.15; **Cinema One:** Mega Force; **Cinema Two:** closed; **Dekel:** The Verdict 7, 9.30; **Drive-In:** Mega Force 7.15, 9.30; Sex film 12.15 midnight; **Esther:** L'as des As; **Gat:** Officer and a Gentleman 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Gordon:** Tempest 5, 7, 9.30; **Hod:** First Blood; **Lev I:** Megilleh 83 at 11.30, 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Lev II:** Night of San Lorenzo 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Elnor:** Summer Lovers; **Maxim:** Don't Give a Damn About Officers; **Mograbi:** Annie 11, 4, 7, 9.30; **Orly:** Cave Papa; **Paris:** Gregory's Girl 10, 12, 2, 4, 7.15, 9.30; **Peer:** Lonely Hearts; **Shalvi:** Six Weeks 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Studio:** Young Doctors in Love; **Tchelet:** Monty Python Live at the Hollywood Bowl 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Tel Aviv:** The Pirate Movie 4.30, 7, 9.30; Gone With the Wind 11 a.m.; **Tel Aviv Museum:** Tree of the Wooden Clogs 6, 9; **Zafon:** Pirates; **Tamam:** Popeye 11 a.m.; Broken Glass 7.15, 9.30, 11.45.

**HAIFA 4, 6.45, 9**
**Amanal:** Clockwork Orange 6.30, 9; **Amphitheatre:** Bomber; **Armon:** Coogan's Bluff; **Atzmon:** First Blood; **Chen:** E.T.; **Galor:** Fast Walking 10, 2, 6; Anger in his Eyes 12, 4, 8; **Keren Or:** Tarzoon Shame of the Jungle 6.45, 9; **Little Convict 4; Morlah:** The Verdict 6.45, 9; **Orah:** Annie 4, 6.30, 9; **Orion:** The Red House 6 non-stop; **Orly:** Pinocchio 11, 4, 6, 8; **Peer:** Officer and a Gentleman 4, 6.30, 9; **Ros:** Megilleh 83 at 11.30, 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Shavit:** Monty Python and the Holy Grail 6.45; Monty Python Something Different 9.15

**RAMAT GAN**
**Armon:** Best Little Whorshouse in Texas 9.30; **Lilyn:** Summer Lovers 7.15, 9.30; **Oasis:** E.T. 4, 7, 9.30; **Ordea:** A Policewoman Called Louis 7.15, 9.30; **Ramat Gan:** Annie 4, 7.15, 9.30; **Kfar Hamaccabiah:** Blues Brothers 7.15, 9.15

**HERZLIYA**
**Tiferet:** Silent Rage 7.15, 9.15

**NETANYA**
**Esther:** First Blood 7, 9.15

**HOLON**
**Migdal:** Officer and a Gentleman 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Savoy:** The Pirate Movie 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; Hiz 11 a.m.

**RAMAT HASHARON**
**Star:** Rocky III at 7; A Little Sex 9.30

# 72 shares down by 5% or more

AVIV. — As it has every day the past few weeks, Mizrahi stered yesterday rose by exactly points, or six-tenths of one per Nearly all other bank stocks rose slightly, continuing the ition that the main stocks of the or banks continue to go up slow- day after day, no matter what the of the market does. And yester- most of the rest of the market quite badly. Of the total tur- er of IS883.7 million in shares, majority, some IS499m., was in k shares. The next-largest gories were investment com- es and oils, which had a total over of IS141.4m.

mong other major bank stocks, rose by 16 points, or 0.6%, oalim rose by 24 points, or and Leumi rose by 16 points, 7%. Even FIBI, which has been g lately, rose by one point, but only amounted to 0.2%.

for the rest of the sectors, ugh mortgage banks were mix- some 64 shares fell by 5% or , while eight fell by 5% without ing any buyers and were fore registered as "sellers ." Only one share was listed as ers only," and only seven s rose by more than 5%.

nong mortgage banks the est drop, 9.1%, was registered e Independence Bank options, the main shares fell by 5.2%. v lost 2.5%, and Adanim fell 1%.

ong financing institutions Clal ng took the worst beating, with l shares falling by 1.8%, its 0.5 s by 10% and the options also 9%.

ssneh and Menora led the s among insurance companies, dropping by 10%. However, were plenty of other losers, Aryeh down by 5%, Yardenia y 8.7% and Zion Holdings by

vices and utilities did not fare better, with Cold Storage 0.1 by 9.3% and Nikuv Com- s falling by 9.2%.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By MACABEE DEAN

The largest single loss, 15%, was suffered by Matam 0.1, among land development companies, but Azorim options lost 10% and Arazim lost 9.9%.

As for industrials, the largest drops were registered by Alaska-Sportlife, 9.9%, Goldfrost, 10%, Dexter, 8.8%, Vardimon, 7.1%, Teva, 5.7% and Tempo Beer, 10.1%. Yizhar 0.5 was also down 10%, as was Maquette.

A few industrials did rise. Fertilizers, for example, rose by 2.5%. Zikit was up by 6.2% and Man even rose by 7.7%. But the general picture among industrials was quite gloomy.

The heaviest losers among investment companies were Oz 0.5, which was down 10%, while Landeco fell by 8.2%. There were a few rises in the sector, especially among the options, but the only registered stock which rose was Export, and that by only 0.2%.

Bank Leumi's **Industrial Development Bank** yesterday announced that it was allocating 100% bonus shares, bringing up to 166% the total amount of shares issued on account of 1982. It also informed the stock exchange that its net after-tax profits had risen by 332% (not deflated) during 1982, to stand at IS122.8 million.

The bank's capital and reserves grew by 154% (not deflated) during 1982, to stand at IS210m.

## Weekly calendar

**Today, March 21 — Man** — Trading and rights; **Sismica** — Opening of Trading and Options; **Alumit** — Ex-50% bonus shares.

**Wednesday, March 23 — Carmel Mortgage Bank** — Allocation of bonus shares; **First International Bank** — ex 100% bonus shares.

**Thursday, March 24 — Hassneh** — Trading and rights; **Yardenia** — Trading and rights; **Israel Mortgage and Development Bank** — Trading and rights; **Tefahot** — ex 100% bonus shares.

**Ox Investments** — Options 1 and 2 trade for last time. **Carmel Mortgage Bank** — Closing of public subscription. **Man** — Opening of trading and options. **Alumit** — Allocation of bonus shares.

## Profits of British Petroleum down

LONDON (AP). — British Petroleum's after-tax profits fell sharply in 1982 to £1.2 billion ($1.8b.), compared with £1.6b. ($2.43b.) the year before, the company announced last week.

The oil, chemical and mineral giant, 39 per cent owned by the British government, said total sales declined from £29.75b. ($44.6b.) in 1981 to £23.34b. last year because of the world recession and oil glut.

The board of directors said in a statement, "There are signs of improvement in general economic activity in the first months of 1983, although exchange rates have been volatile and oil prices under pressure."

The directors expressed the hope that the price and production accord announced last week by OPEC would "help to reduce uncertainty and provide a further stimulus to growth." Earlier, however, BP said that the new benchmark price of $29 a barrel announced by OPEC would not hold and further price cuts were inevitable.

**INFLATION.** — Britain's annual inflation rate rose to 5.3 per cent in February, up from 4.9 per cent in January and the first increase since last May, the government announced Friday.

| | Closing price | Volume IS1,000 | Change | % change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Commercial Banks** | | | | |
| IDB p. | 59500 | — | n.c. | — |
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| IDB B r | 2840 | 25 | +100 | +3.7 |
| IDB p. A | 16500 | 3 | +150 | +1.0 |
| IDB op 11 | 1905 | 54 | n.c. | — |
| Union r | 2410 | 214 | +5 | +.2 |
| Union op 4 r | 8650 | — | n.c. | — |
| Discount r | 3346 | 249 | —29 | —.9 |
| Discount A r | 3346 | 618 | +24 | +.7 |
| Discount op 2 | 3645 | 17 | n.c. | — |
| Discount B | 374 | 96 | n.c. | — |
| Mizrahi r | 1086 | 8,882 | +6 | +.6 |
| Mizrahi b | 1086 | 53 | +6 | +.6 |
| Mizrahi op 3 | 18000 | — | +200 | +1.1 |
| Mizrahi op 10 | 4800 | 14 | +155 | +3.3 |
| Mizrahi op 11 | 1764 | 244 | —160 | —8.3 |
| Mizrahi sc 6 | 9020 | 1 | +100 | +1.1 |
| Mizrahi op 7 | 7670 | 8 | +220 | +3.0 |
| Mizrahi sc 9 | 438 | 153 | +6 | +1.4 |
| Maritime 0.1 | 1575 | 926 | +50 | +3.3 |
| Maritime 0.5 | 609 | 1,950 | n.c. | — |
| Hapoalim p. B | 5800 | — | +245 | +4.4 |
| Hapoalim r | 4396 | 995 | ₪24 | +.6 |
| Hapoalim b | 4372 | 962 | n.c. | — |
| Hapoalim op 7 | 14599 | 1 | +19 | +.1 |
| Hapoalim op 13 | 3385 | 39 | +5 | +.1 |
| Hapoalim sc 6 | 9720 | 1 | +190 | +2.0 |
| Hapoalim sc 8 | 6550 | 2 | n.c. | — |
| General A | 10280 | 47 | +70 | +.7 |
| General op 6 | 20350 | 3 | n.c. | — |
| General op 8 | 8825 | 2 | +75 | +.9 |
| General sc 5 | 2970 | 8 | +56 | +1.9 |
| General 7 | 180 | 102 | —6 | —3.2 |
| Leumi | 2223 | 5,098 | +16 | +.7 |
| Leumi op 4 | 11830 | — | +50 | +.4 |
| Leumi op 13 | 1610 | 144 | +10 | +.6 |
| Leumi sc 9 | 1495 | 6 | +3 | +.2 |
| Leumi sc 11 | 413 | 71 | +1 | +.2 |
| OHH r | 3779 | 5 | +31 | +.8 |
| Finance Trade | 4843 | 204 | +30 | +.6 |
| Finance Trade | 2447 | 41 | +15 | +.6 |
| Finance Tr. op | 1970 | 5 | +30 | +1.6 |
| N. American 1 | 3469 | 6 | +15 | +.4 |
| N. American 5 | 2409 | 175 | +14 | +.6 |
| Danot 1.0 | 1596 | 68 | n.c. | — |
| Danot 5.0 | 382 | 731 | —8 | —2.1 |
| Danot sc 2 | 630 | 37 | —48 | —7.1 |
| First Int'l 5 | 1274 | 760 | n.c. | — |
| FIBI | 680 | 384 | +1 | +.2 |
| **Mortgage Banks** | | | | |
| Adanim 0.1 | 1550 | 74 | —50 | —3.1 |
| Gen Mortgage r | 1990 | 242 | +30 | +1.5 |
| Gen Mortgage b | 1960 | 3 | n.c. | — |
| Carmiel r | 1500 | 12 | n.c. | — |
| Binyan | 1399 | 19 | —16 | —1.1 |
| DevMortgage r | 1005 | 264 | —5 | —.5 |
| DevMortgage b | 1070 | 2 | —20 | —1.8 |
| Mishkan r | 6220 | 53 | +65 | +1.1 |
| Mishkan b | 6215 | 1 | +60 | +1.0 |
| Independence | 4550 | 8 | —250 | —5.2 |
| Indep op 1 | 3000 | 1 | —300 | —9.1 |
| Tefahot p. r | 5400 | 57 | +50 | +.9 |
| Tefahot r | 5720 | 496 | +35 | +.6 |
| Tefahot b | 5600 | — | n.c. | — |
| Tefahot 2% | no trading | | | |
| Tefahot op A | 4085 | 83 | +140 | +3.6 |
| Tefahot op B | 574 | 450 | —5 | —.9 |
| Tefahot d 1. | 180 | 1,442 | +1 | +.6 |
| Merav r | 540 | 298 | —14 | —2.5 |
| **Financing Institutions** | | | | |
| Shilton r | 286 | 177 | —16 | —5.3 |
| Shilton op B | 2058 | — | n.c. | — |
| Shilton sc 1 | no trading | | | |
| Shilton sc 2 | no trading | | | |
| Otzar Lat. r | no trading | | | |
| Otzar Lat. b | no trading | | | |
| Contractors C. | 316 | 111 | n.c. | — |
| Agriculture A | 14250 | — | —150 | —1.0 |
| Ind Dev p.r. | 15600 | 10 | +200 | +1.3 |
| Clal Lease 0.1 | 1120 | 9 | —20 | —1.8 |
| Clal Lease 0.5 | 414 | 70 | —46 | —10.0 |
| Clal Lease op B | 388 | 7 | —43 | —10.0 |
| Clal Lease sc 1 | 250 | 109 | —18 | —6.7 |
| **Insurance** | | | | |
| Aryeh r | 1340 | 475 | —70 | —5.0 |
| Aryeh op | 48100 | 1 | n.c. | — |
| Aryeh op B | 816 | 56 | —22 | —2.6 |
| Aryeh sc 1 | 1583 | 1 | —2 | —.1 |
| Ararat 0.1 r | 1400 | 26 | —90 | —6.0 |
| Ararat 0.5 r | 710 | 91 | +7 | +1.0 |
| Reinsur. 0.1 r | 3200 | 3 | —100 | —3.0 |
| Reinsur . 0.5 r | 2410 | 56 | n.c. | — |
| Reinsur. op 1 | 2000 | 30 | +31 | +1.6 |
| Hadar 1.0 | 920 | 67 | —16 | —1.7 |
| Hadar 5.0 | 609 | 78 | —17 | —2.7 |
| Hadar op 1 | 478 | 28 | —1 | —.2 |
| Hassneh r | 1476 | 321 | —164 | —10.0 |
| Hassneh b | 1760 | 6 | n.c. | — |
| Hassneh op 3 | 1341 | 40 | n.c. | — |
| Phoenix 0.1 r | 3200 | 11 | +50 | +1.6 |
| Phoenix 0.5 r | 2199 | 13 | —41 | —1.8 |
| Hamishmar | 265 | 113 | —7 | —2.6 |
| Hamishmar | 179 | 273 | +5 | +2.9 |
| Hamishmar op | 164 | 136 | +3 | +1.9 |
| Yardenia 0.1 r | 1089 | 27 | —31 | —2.8 |
| Yardenia 0.5 r | 419 | 31 | —40 | —8.7 |
| Yardenia op 1 | 750 | 7 | —70 | —8.5 |
| Menora 1 | 2180 | 67 | —220 | —9.2 |
| Menora 5 | 1053 | 95 | —117 | —10 |
| Sahar r | 1495 | 16 | n.c. | — |
| Securitas r | 661 | 148 | —9 | —1.3 |
| Zur r | 3150 | 44 | n.c. | — |
| Zur op 2 | 2780 | 29 | n.c. | — |
| Zion Hold. 1.0 | 451 | 36 | —14 | —3 |
| Zion Hold. 5.0 | 260 | 103 | —16 | —5.8 |
| **Services & Utilities** | | | | |
| Galei Zohar 1 | 296 | 80 | +16 | +5.7 |
| Galei Zohar 5 | 153 | 42 | +2 | +1.3 |
| Galei Zo. op 1 | 105 | 28 | —5 | —4.6 |
| Data Mikun | 421 | 100 | n.c. | — |
| Delek r | 2250 | 36 | n.c. | — |
| Delek b | 2451 | — | n.c. | — |
| Harel 1 | 378 | 130 | —20 | —5 |
| Harel 5 | 209 | 52 | —11 | —5 |
| Harel op 2 | 145 | 13 | —3 | —2 |
| Lighterage 0.1 | 748 | 96 | +43 | +6.1 |
| Lighterage 0.5 | 379 | 289 | —21 | —5.3 |
| Cold Store 0.1 | 19500 | — | —2000 | —9.3 |
| Cold Store 1.0 | 5500 | 7 | —295 | —5.1 |
| Israel Electric r | no trading | | | |
| Dan Hotels 1 | 390 | 47 | +1 | +.3 |
| Dan Hotels 5 | 289 | 71 | n.c. | — |
| Coral Beach | 148 | 1,367 | n.c. | — |
| Coral B. op 1 | 115 | 32 | +9 | +8.5 |
| Hilan | 765 | 162 | —33 | —4.1 |
| Hilan op | 462 | 25 | n.c. | — |
| Teta 1 | 382 | 59 | —11 | —2.8 |
| Teta 5 | 195 | 148 | —8 | —3.9 |
| Teta op | 128 | 84 | —2 | —1.5 |
| Clal Comp | 880 | 68 | +5 | +.6 |
| Clal Comp op | 583 | 24 | +20 | +3.6 |
| Malal 1 | 672 | 138 | —10 | —1.5 |
| Malal 5 | 450 | 117 | —30 | —6.3 |
| Malal op | 275 | 71 | +1 | +.4 |
| Magor 0.1 | 535 | 43 | n.c. | — |
| Magor 0.5 | 209 | 315 | n.c. | — |
| Magor op 1 | 1760 | 9 | —140 | —7.4 |
| Bond Ware 0.1 | 401 | 42 | —9 | —2.2 |
| Bond Ware 0.5 | 175 | 269 | —13 | —6.9 |
| Bond Ware op | 136 | 160 | +6 | +4.6 |
| Yahalom | 175 | 369 | n.c. | — |
| Yahalom op 1 | 120 | 181 | +12 | +11.1 |
| Nikuv 1.0 | 717 | 40 | —73 | —9.2 |
| Nikuv 5.0 | 500 | 18 | —2 | —.4 |
| Nikuv op 1 | 464 | 29 | —25 | —5.1 |
| Consort. Hold. | 1315 | 19 | n.c. | — |
| Consortium op | 1220 | 10 | —61 | —4.8 |
| Kopel 1 | 415 | 297 | —15 | —3.5 |
| Crystal 1 | 1247 | 14 | —5 | —.4 |
| Rupac 0.1 | 1900 | 1 | —65 | —3.3 |
| Rupac 0.5 | 456 | s.o.1 | —24 | —5 |
| Supersol 2 | 4810 | 14 | +10 | +.2 |
| Supersol 10 | 1950 | 62 | —30 | —1.5 |
| Supersol op B | 1615 | 1 | +5 | +.3 |
| **Land, Building, Citrus** | | | | |
| Oren | 375 | 260 | —5 | —1.3 |
| Oren op 1 | 718 | 23 | n.c. | — |
| Azorim Invest. | 381 | 80 | —3 | —.8 |
| Azorim r | 434 | 212 | —5 | —1.1 |
| Azorim op C | 3205 | — | +25 | +.8 |
| Azorim op D | 935 | 20 | —105 | —10.1 |
| Azorim op E | 371 | 97 | —19 | —4.9 |
| Africa Isr. 0.1 | 5630 | 23 | —70 | —1.2 |
| Africa Isr. 1.0 | 5290 | 5 | —50 | —.9 |
| Africa op 2 | 4030 | 5 | —10 | —.3 |
| Azazim | 355 | 131 | —39 | —9.9 |
| Azazim op | 217 | 118 | n.c. | — |
| Arledan 0.1 | 340 | 139 | n.c. | — |
| Arledan 0.5 | 170 | 370 | —10 | —5.6 |
| Arled. op A | 426 | 11 | —35 | —7.6 |
| Ben Yakar 1 | 1608 | 20 | n.c. | — |
| Ben Yakar op | 1435 | 50 | n.c. | — |
| Baranoviz 1 | 260 | 222 | n.c. | — |
| Baranoviz 5 | 154 | 768 | +5 | +3.4 |
| Baranoviz op | 118 | 58 | —3 | —2.5 |
| Dankner 1 | 248 | 118 | +10 | +4.2 |
| Drucker 1 | 415 | 207 | —6 | —1.4 |
| Drucker 5 | 380 | 194 | —15 | —3.8 |
| Drucker op | 190 | 675 | n.c. | — |
| Darad 0.1 | no trading | | | |
| Darad 0.5 | no trading | | | |
| Darad op 1 | no trading | | | |
| Darad op 2 | no trading | | | |
| HLB 0.1 | 355 | 29 | —15 | —4.1 |
| HLB 0.5 r | 190 | 173 | —10 | —5. |
| Property Bldg | 1885 | 130 | n.c. | — |
| Bayside 0.1 | 1435 | 23 | +10 | +.7 |
| Bayside 0.5 | 1280 | 70 | —30 | —2.3 |
| Bayside op B | 2020 | — | +20 | +1 |
| ILDC r | 2205 | 165 | —20 | —.9 |
| ILDC b | 2215 | 4 | —50 | —2.2 |
| ICP r | 261 | 199 | —4 | —1.5 |
| Ispro r | 255 | 395 | —10 | —3.8 |
| Isralom | 371 | 51 | —20 | —5.1 |
| Isras b | 755 | 52 | —3 | —.4 |
| Isras op 1 | 551 | 20 | —3 | —.5 |
| Cohen Dev. | 297 | 345 | n.c. | — |
| Cohen Dev. op | 269 | 154 | n.c. | — |
| Lumir 1 | 270 | 91 | n.c. | — |
| Lumir 5 | 135 | 76 | —10 | —6.9 |
| Lumir op 1 | 100 | 61 | +1 | +1 |
| M.T.M. 1 | 2543 | 9 | —450 | —15 |
| M.T.M. 5 | 1350 | 20 | —155 | —10.3 |
| M.T.M. op 1 | 1551 | 1 | —100 | —6.1 |
| Mehadrin r | 3180 | 19 | —20 | —.6 |
| Modul Beton | 2144 | 60 | n.c. | — |
| Mishnael 5 | 453 | 209 | +10 | +2.3 |
| Mar-Lez 1 | 187 | 106 | +6 | +3.3 |
| Mar-Lez op | 129 | 49 | —1 | —.8 |
| Meshulam 1 | 1010 | 366 | n.c. | — |
| Meshulam 5 | 324 | 30 | —36 | —10.0 |
| Mesh. op 1 | 258 | — | n.c. | — |
| Lifschitz 1 | 249 | 432 | +10 | +4.2 |
| Lifschitz 5 | 170 | 121 | n.c. | — |
| Lifschitz op | 119 | 208 | —1 | —1.2 |
| Neot Aviv | 1882 | 18 | +32 | +1.7 |
| Nichsei Hadar | 867 | 152 | +2 | +.2 |
| Solel Bon. p. A | 8920 | 24 | +50 | +.6 |
| Sahaf 1 | 328 | 192 | n.c. | — |
| Sahaf 5 | 274 | 147 | —1 | —.4 |
| Sahaf op | 185 | 291 | +1 | +.5 |
| Tri Or. | 863 | 20 | +8 | +.9 |
| Tri Or op | 820 | 11 | +1 | +.1 |
| Caesarea 0.1 | 370 | 218 | —17 | —4.4 |
| Caesarea 0.5 | 123 | 233 | —1 | —.8 |
| Rogovin 1 | 313 | 47 | —4 | —1.3 |
| Rogovin 5 | 269 | 75 | —3 | —1.1 |
| Rogovin op | 145 | 4 | —3 | —2.0 |
| Rassco p. r | 890 | 74 | —8 | —.9 |
| Rassco r | 830 | 186 | —8 | —1.0 |
| Rassco op | 795 | 75 | n.c. | — |
| Shenhar 5 | 136 | 70 | —4 | —3.2 |
| **Industrials** | | | | |
| Agan Chem. | 575 | 271 | —15 | —2.5 |
| Agan op 1 | 398 | 30 | —31 | —7.2 |
| Baruch 1 | 470 | 76 | —15 | —3.1 |
| Baruch 5 | 334 | 46 | n.c. | — |
| Baruch op | 210 | 39 | n.c. | — |
| Octagon | 360 | 431 | n.c. | — |
| Octagon op | 189 | 182 | n.c. | — |
| Urdan 0.1 r | 1470 | 48 | —22 | —1.5 |
| Urdan 0.5 r | 910 | 65 | —9 | —1.0 |
| Urdan op | 710 | 61 | n.c. | — |
| Attas 1 | 469 | 153 | —20 | —4.1 |
| Attas op | 283 | 100 | —1 | —.4 |
| Atlantic 1 | 127 | 99 | —4 | —3.1 |
| Atlantic op 1 | 100 | 131 | +5 | +5.8 |
| I.P. Building | 304 | 330 | —12 | —3.8 |
| Elbit 3.0 r | 13400 | 7 | —300 | —2.2 |
| Elbit op | 12000 | 1 | —1000 | —7.7 |
| Alumit 1 | 540 | 50 | —15 | —2.7 |
| Alumit 5 | 395 | 5 | —5 | —1.3 |
| Alumit op | 330 | 32 | —5 | —1.5 |
| Alliance | no trading | | | |
| Alaska Sport 1 | 720 | 44 | —79 | —9.9 |
| Alaska Sport 5 | 390 | 10 | —25 | —6.0 |
| Alaska S. op 1 | 431 | 1 | —9 | —2.1 |
| Elco 0.1 | 1045 | 46 | n.c. | — |
| Elco 0.25 r | 600 | 667 | n.c. | — |
| Elco 0.25 b | 940 | 9 | —48 | —4.9 |
| Elco op B | 1257 | 24 | n.c. | — |
| Elco d 1 | 3768 | 1 | +40 | +1.1 |
| Alkol | 399 | 190 | +1 | +.3 |
| Alkol op 1 | 285 | 48 | +3 | +1.1 |
| Electra 0.1 r | 2200 | 4 | —20 | —.9 |
| Electra 0.5 r | 1210 | 57 | +15 | +1.3 |
| Electra op 3 | 1870 | 3 | n.c. | — |
| Electra op 4 | 800 | 115 | n.c. | — |
| Elron | 22500 | 7 | —800 | —3.4 |
| Ondine 1 | 290 | 75 | —10 | —3.3 |
| Ondine 5 | 181 | 184 | —9 | —4.7 |
| Ondine op | 132 | 109 | +2 | +1.5 |
| Ackerstein 1 | 404 | 79 | n.c. | — |
| Ackerstein 5 | 290 | 50 | —20 | —6.5 |
| Argaman p.r. | 2050 | 3 | —50 | —2.4 |
| Argaman r | 1838 | 98 | n.c. | — |
| Aryt | 2095 | 82 | +20 | +1.0 |
| Aryt op | 1950 | 3 | n.c. | — |
| Ata B 1.0 | 246 | 41 | n.c. | — |
| Ata C 0.1 | 162 | 462 | — | .3 |
| Tadir 1.0 | 2416 | 92 | +30 | +1.3 |
| Tadir 5.0 | 616 | 190 | n.c. | — |
| Tadir op 1 | 2602 | 15 | +15 | +.6 |
| Bar-Ton 1 | 350 | 6 | +9 | +2.6 |
| Bar-Ton 5 | 175 | 46 | +5 | +2.9 |
| Bar-Ton op | 119 | 16 | —4 | —3.6 |
| Goldfrost 1.0 | 602 | 69 | —67 | —10.0 |
| Goldfrost 5 | 197 | 150 | —4 | —2 |
| Goldfrost op | 146 | 10 | —5 | —3.3 |
| Gal Ind. 1.0 | 1778 | 128 | —110 | —5.8 |
| Gal Ind 5.0 | 574 | 227 | —4 | —.7 |
| Gal Ind. op 1 | 800 | 17 | —60 | —7.0 |
| Galil Tech 1 | 253 | 286 | —7 | —2.7 |
| Galit Tech op | 177 | 318 | —1 | —.6 |
| Dubek p. r | 3100 | 18 | —100 | —3.1 |
| Dubek p. b | 3100 | 9 | —100 | —3.1 |
| Delta Galil 1 | 441 | 95 | +1 | +.2 |
| Delta Galil 3 | 301 | 168 | —4 | —1.3 |
| Delta Gal. op 2 | 411 | 74 | +5 | +1.2 |
| Dafron 1 | 349 | 55 | —11 | —3.1 |
| Dafron 5 | 198 | 45 | —5 | —2.5 |
| Dafron op | 125 | 55 | +5 | +4.2 |
| Dexter Chem. | 260 | 236 | —25 | —8.8 |
| Dexter op A | 167 | 123 | n.c. | — |
| Fertilizer 0.1 | 821 | 6 | +20 | +2.5 |
| Fertilizer 0.5 | 352 | 21 | +1 | +.3 |
| Cables r | 1925 | 11 | +40 | +2.1 |
| Cables b | 1890 | 3 | —10 | —.5 |
| Hamashul 1 | 269 | 151 | —7 | —2.5 |
| Hamashul 5 | 193 | 212 | +3 | +1.6 |
| Hamashul op | 279 | 283 | —2 | —.7 |
| Hatchof 1.0 | 380 | 81 | +10 | +2.7 |
| Hatchof 5.0 | 210 | 81 | —7 | —3.2 |
| Hatchof op 1 | 481 | 20 | —51 | —9.6 |
| Vitalgo 1 | 438 | s.o.1 | —23 | —5.0 |
| Vitalgo 5 | 304 | s.o.1 | —16 | —5.0 |
| Vardinon | 380 | 502 | —29 | —7.1 |
| Vardinon op | 244 | 100 | n.c. | — |
| Zikit 1.0 | 1230 | 55 | +72 | +6.2 |
| Zikit 5.0 | 379 | s.o.1 | —20 | —5.0 |
| Zikit op A | 171 | 49 | +9 | +5.6 |
| Zol-Kal 1 | 320 | 44 | —1 | —.3 |
| Zol-Kal 5 | 246 | 172 | n.c. | — |
| Zol-Kal op | 140 | 72 | n.c. | — |
| Pri-Ze 1 | 372 | 132 | —26 | —6.5 |
| Pri-Ze 5 | 221 | 154 | n.c. | — |
| Pri-Ze op | 175 | 90 | n.c. | — |
| Haifa Chemicals | 1990 | 19 | —9 | —.5 |
| Teva r | 1585 | 144 | —95 | —5.7 |
| Teva b | 1600 | 5 | —80 | —4.8 |
| Teva db 3 | 396 | 12 | —6 | —1.5 |
| Tempo 1.0 | 460 | 79 | —18 | —3.8 |
| Tempo 5.0 | 340 | 16 | —38 | —10.1 |
| Tempo op 1 | 330 | 10 | —18 | —5.2 |
| Tempo op 2 | 208 | 8 | +1 | +.5 |
| Tromasbest 1 | 1470 | 29 | —20 | —1.3 |
| Tromasbest 5 | 1020 | 22 | n.c. | — |
| Trom. op 1 | 1760 | — | +100 | +6.0 |
| Yaeh | 578 | b.o.1 | +27 | +4.9 |
| Yaeh op | 482 | 10 | +27 | +5.9 |
| Yomar 1 | 1140 | — | — | — |
| Yomar 5 | 1135 | — | — | — |
| Yitzhar 1 | 248 | s.o.1 | —13 | —5.0 |
| Yitzhar 5 | 148 | 69 | —16 | —10.0 |
| Yitzhar op 1 | 139 | 34 | +8 | 6.1 |
| ZionCables 1 | 3302 | 14 | —1 | — |
| ZionCables 5 | 701 | 43 | —29 | —4.0 |
| ZionCables op | 484 | s.o.1 | —37 | —7.1 |
| Clal Electronics | 4100 | 90 | n.c. | — |
| Lodzia 0.1 | 1710 | 1 | —90 | —5.0 |
| Lodzia 0.4 | 740 | 150 | —20 | —2.6 |
| Modul Ind. | 374 | 77 | —1 | —.3 |
| Wolfman 1 | 1010 | 5 | +23 | +2.3 |
| Wolfman 5 | 775 | 20 | +25 | +3.3 |
| Molett B r | 2000 | 6 | n.c. | — |
| M.L.T. 1 | 230 | 93 | —5 | —2.1 |
| M.L.T. 5 | 157 | 43 | +2 | +1.3 |
| Man 1.0 | 850 | 16 | +61 | +7.7 |
| Man 5.0 | 496 | 165 | n.c. | — |
| Zika 1 | 726 | 187 | n.c. | — |
| Zika 5 | 605 | 58 | n.c. | — |
| Zika op 1 | 903 | 30 | —4 | —.4 |
| Dead Sea r | 1600 | 141 | —50 | —3. |
| Kadamani 1 | 214 | 71 | +7 | +3.4 |
| Kadamani 5 | 149 | 77 | —1 | —.7 |
| Kadam. op A | 280 | 47 | —20 | —6.7 |
| AIPM r | 3434 | 32 | n.c. | — |
| Assis | 2000 | 50 | —1 | —.1 |
| **Petrochemicals** | 171 | 905 | +1 | +.6 |
| Maquette 1 | 2325 | 27 | —258 | —10.0 |
| Maquette 5 | 506 | 178 | —24 | —4.5 |
| Maq. op A | 725 | 36 | —5 | —.7 |
| Maxima 1 | 259 | 262 | n.c. | — |
| Maxima 5 | 240 | 371 | n.c. | — |
| Maxima op | 160 | 438 | n.c. | — |
| Nechushtan 0.1 | 432 | 13 | n.c. | — |
| Nechushtan 0.5 | 242 | 100 | —1 | —.4 |
| Nechushtan op | 141 | 42 | —10 | —6.6 |
| Neca Chem. | 280 | 168 | —10 | —3.5 |
| Sano 1 | 1310 | 2 | n.c. | — |
| Sano 5 | 985 | — | n.c. | — |
| Sunfrost | 445 | 124 | —4 | —.9 |
| Spectronix 1 | 1370 | 71 | —30 | —2.1 |
| Spectronix 5 | 880 | 38 | n.c. | — |
| Spect. op 1 | 690 | 5 | —10 | —1.4 |
| Ayit 1 | 3591 | s.o.1 | —189 | —5.0 |
| Ayit 5 | 1510 | s.o.1 | —80 | —5.0 |
| Ayit op | 2100 | 12 | n.c. | — |
| Elite r | 3820 | 10 | —10 | —.3 |
| Arad r | 322 | 107 | —8 | —2.4 |
| Arad op 1 | 285 | 16 | —3 | —1.0 |
| Feuchtwanger 1 | 500 | 69 | n.c. | — |
| Feuchtwanger 5 | 350 | 166 | —10 | —2.8 |
| Feucht. op 1 | 238 | 71 | —37 | —13.5 |
| Polgat 0.1 | 3120 | 16 | +120 | +4.0 |
| Polgat 0.4 | 1840 | 84 | —25 | —1.3 |
| Polygon r | 950 | 5 | —19 | —2.0 |
| Pollak 1 | 668 | 29 | n.c. | — |
| Pollak 5 | 385 | 44 | —5 | —1.3 |
| Pollak op 1 | 243 | 63 | +1 | +.4 |
| Pecker Steel | 900 | 32 | —20 | —2.2 |
| Pecker opt. | 1608 | 5 | +8 | +.5 |
| Pargod | 178 | 287 | —2 | —1.1 |
| Pargod op | 130 | 44 | —1 | —.8 |
| Cyclone 1 | 669 | 44 | n.c. | — |
| Cyclone 5 | 397 | 32 | +24 | +6.4 |
| Cyclone op | 241 | 60 | —11 | —4.4 |
| King 1 | 490 | 22 | +10 | +2.1 |
| King 5 | 335 | 82 | —15 | —4.3 |
| King op 1 | 250 | 25 | —11 | —4.2 |
| Klil 1.0 | 1214 | 67 | +12 | +1.0 |
| Klil 5.0 | 324 | 116 | —31 | —8.7 |
| Katz. Adler 1 | 550 | 53 | n.c. | — |
| Katz. Adler 5 | 394 | 21 | —3 | —.8 |
| Katz op | 220 | 27 | n.c. | — |
| Rim 0.1 r | 765 | 17 | —81 | —9.6 |
| Rim 0.4 r | 435 | 26 | n.c. | — |
| Schoellerina | 2550 | 91 | —50 | —1.9 |
| Shemen p. r | 2100 | 11 | —20 | —.9 |
| T.A.T. 1.0 | 715 | 67 | —30 | —4.0 |
| T.A.T. 5.0 | 475 | 105 | —15 | —3.1 |
| T.A.T. op 1 | 530 | 45 | —29 | —5.2 |
| Tagal 1 | 285 | 46 | n.c. | — |
| Tagal 5 | 224 | 28 | —1 | —.4 |
| Tagal op | 123 | 21 | —10 | —7.5 |
| Tedea 1 | 591 | 300 | —28 | —4.5 |
| Taya | 551 | 44 | —4 | —.7 |
| Taya op 1 | 1220 | 7 | —40 | —3.2 |
| Taya op 2 | 410 | 8 | —19 | —4.4 |
| Taal B r | 518 | 59 | —8 | —1.5 |
| Frutarom r | 690 | 13 | +40 | +6.2 |
| Lachish 5 | 908 | 57 | +24 | +2.7 |
| Lachish 1 | 610 | 25 | —17 | —2.7 |
| Lachish op | 800 | 3 | —40 | —4.8 |
| Rogosin 1 | 164 | 97 | — | —.3 |
| Taro Pharm. | 326 | 26 | —29 | —8.2 |
| **Investment & Holding** | | | | |
| Unico r | 1580 | 12 | —75 | —4.5 |
| Unico b | 1672 | 2 | n.c. | — |
| IDB Dev. r | 2576 | 2,586 | +2 | +.1 |
| IDB Dev. op 2 | 1940 | 4 | n.c. | — |
| Incoba | 471 | 46 | —29 | —5.8 |
| Elgar r | 6850 | — | n.c. | — |
| Elgar b | 6700 | — | n.c. | — |
| Ellern r | 3620 | 19 | —80 | —2.2 |
| Ellern b | 3700 | 62 | n.c. | — |
| Amissar | 3681 | 1 | n.c. | — |
| Afik 1.0 | 2390 | 17 | +15 | +.6 |
| Afik 5.0 | 1895 | 4 | +10 | +.5 |
| Afik op | 1495 | 7 | —10 | —.7 |
| Central Trade | 6801 | 13 | —598 | —8.1 |
| Israel Corp. 1 | 1698 | 1,177 | n.c. | — |
| Israel Corp. 5 | 710 | 103 | n.c. | — |
| Inv. Paz r | 2850 | 4 | —1 | — |
| Inv. Paz b | 2900 | — | — | — |
| Wolfson 0.1 | 31000 | — | +1100 | +3.7 |
| Wolfson 1 r | 6150 | 3 | —15 | —2.4 |
| Ampa r | 2215 | 129 | n.c. | — |
| Ampa op 1 | 3630 | 6 | n.c. | — |
| Disc. Invest. r | 1923 | 542 | —37 | —1.9 |
| Disc. Invest. b | 2040 | 41 | n.c. | — |
| Disc. i.d. 135 | 5400 | — | n.c. | — |
| Hapoal. Inv. r | 6151 | 6 | —9 | —.2 |
| Hapoal. Inv. b | 7057 | — | — | — |
| Leumi In. r | 1865 | 192 | n.c. | — |
| Jordan Ev. A r | 1105 | 139 | —10 | —.9 |
| Jordan Ev. op | 4500 | — | n.c. | — |
| Jordan E. opt | 20500 | — | n.c. | — |
| Jordan op 4 | 850 | 21 | —50 | —5.6 |
| Mizrahi Inv. r | 1260 | 14 | n.c. | — |
| Mizrahi Inv b | 1310 | — | —15 | —1.1 |
| Mizrahi d. 122 | 211 | 11 | n.c. | — |
| Mizrahi d. 124 | 251 | 21 | n.c. | — |
| Clal Trade | 725 | 71 | —40 | —5.2 |
| Clal Tr. op B | 5810 | — | — | — |
| Clal Tr. op C | 1144 | 26 | n.c. | — |
| Export r | 504 | 75 | +1 | +.2 |
| Knor p. | no trading | | | |
| Clal Real Estate | 204 | 446 | n.c. | — |
| Clal op D | 531 | 60 | —4 | —.8 |
| Clal Israel | 4540 | 57 | —40 | —.9 |
| Clal Israel 50 | 3770 | 40 | —140 | —3.6 |
| Clal Israel op | 2200 | 1 | n.c. | — |
| Clal Industry | 1240 | 601 | n.c. | — |
| Clal Ind. op | 4560 | 18 | n.c. | — |
| Clal Ind. op C | 1027 | 197 | n.c. | — |
| Landeco 0.1 | 606 | 82 | —54 | —8.2 |
| Landeco 0.5 | 447 | 200 | n.c. | — |
| Store Tech | 218 | 679 | —10 | —4.4 |
| Store Tech op | 169 | 346 | n.c. | — |
| Sahar Hold 1.0 | 900 | 29 | —10 | —1.1 |
| Sahar Hold 5.0 | 682 | 27 | +23 | +3.5 |
| Oz Inv 0.1 | 2085 | 86 | +35 | +1.7 |
| Oz Inv 0.5 | 430 | 106 | —48 | —10.0 |
| Oz Inv. op 1 | 5800 | 3 | +100 | +1.8 |
| Oz Inv. op 2 | 1190 | 43 | —126 | —9.6 |
| Pama 0.1 | 905 | 139 | —60 | —6.2 |
| Pama 0.5 | 454 | 229 | —1. | —.2 |
| Pama op 2 | 695 | 116 | n.c. | — |
| Pama op 1 | 303 | 72 | —2 | —.7 |
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Erwin Frenkel
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## Let 'em pay

"YOU want it; you pay for it." That is what the stern Yoram Aridor, according to his spokesmen, supposedly told the ministers, who last week pressed the claims of Agudat Yisrael, the NRP and Tami for more money to serve their constituents.

Yesterday the formula was revealed as something quite different. It turns out that there will not be cuts in the budgets of government ministries to pay for the added billions that are to go to Aguda's school system, the NRP's yeshivot, and to the large families whose votes Tami would like to secure. That, the ministers would not stand for. The public is to foot the bill to keep the three small coalition parties happy.

What after all is easier; slap a tax on travel and only the opposition will squawk. Try to reduce ministry budgets, and all hell breaks loose. Compared to the jealous ministers, the public is a creampuff.

Even P.T. Barnum of circus fame, who said "a sucker is born every minute," did not conceive of a suckerdom on such a grand scale as the Treasury's sharp insight into the Israeli public.

In the past, Israeli governments and Finance Ministers were *much more naive. They actually believed that* government budgets were serious affairs, to be carefully prepared, with due thought in advance to expenditures and the revenues to pay for them. And the Knesset Finance Committee, whose approval was required for every detail, actually considered every detail.

Mr. Aridor is much more modish. Budget and taxes are now decided on the run, according to need. For where once the budget reflected the scale of national priorities, today it is a mechanism for political payoffs. It must, therefore, be able to change according to demand; and this means, as well, taxes on demand.

This is a much more modern way to run things, with none of the old-fashioned constraints of good government. In fact, in the Israel of 1983, it is considered good government.

## The chill factor

THE FACT that a country enjoys free institutions does not necessarily imply that its people believe in freedom. During the McCarthy years a majority of the American people turned thumbs down, in poll after poll, on the Bill of Rights. Today the people of Israel, whose country is the only true democracy in the whole Middle East, are indicating, in poll after poll, their fear of freedom.

According to a recent Dahaf poll by Dr. Mina Zemach, over one third of all Israelis would prefer a non-democratic form of government, or at least a form in which leaders are independent of political parties. Another one sixth of the people simply don't care whether their country is or is not democratic. Nearly one half take a dim view of the Knesset and its workings.

These are minorities. One aspect of free government, however, gives rise to the opposition of a majority. No less than 65 per cent of all adult Israelis believe that the mass news media are harmful to the national interest, and should be curbed. A year ago this view was held by "only" 51 per cent of the people.

Is it the occasional raucousness of criticism voiced from the Knesset floor or by the media that bothers such people? This is not very likely. The resentment is directed at the very notion that persons not in authority may take liberty to criticize those that wield authority. Opposition to the government of the day is by itself unpatriotic, so the argument seems to run, and must be muzzled.

It would be foolhardy to believe that these authoritarian sentiments are not deeply ingrained, and are only dependent on the character of the government of the day. But the recent steep rise in the number of opponents of the free press suggests that it would be equally foolhardy to assume the reverse: that the massive propaganda issued by the country's present political leadership is not, in itself, at least partly responsible for popular attitudes.

The Dahaf poll is cause for the deepest worry. For a democracy that is not backed by the overwhelming majority of the people cannot long expect to remain free.

# THE SELECTIVE SYSTEM

By MACABEE DEAN

EMIL GRUNZWEIG, who was killed last month by a grenade thrown by an unknown person, was undoubtedly the major victim of the Peace Now demonstration outside the Knesset.

Benyahu Aharoni, arrested as a suspect, but only found guilty of disturbing the peace, was also a victim; only time will decide if a major or a minor one.

There is little doubt that Aharoni is guilty as charged, and that his punishment a one-year suspended sentence and a IS25,000 fine, is light punishment, perhaps much too light.

Nevertheless, Aharoni is a victim of the rule — or rather the lack of rule — of a system of law and punishment existing in Israel. If Aharoni wanted to, he could actually scream "discrimination," for he was indeed discriminated against. If the murderer had not thrown the grenade, which claimed a victim, Aharoni's law-breaking, specifically his cursing of the late Grunzweig, would not even have attracted notice, let alone lead to a trial.

For the police would never have taken any steps against him. There are plenty of people who witnessed Aharoni's outburst; they thought nothing of it. No one thought of calling the police, charging that Aharoni was threatening people. His actions were considered part of the normal exchange of hot words over an issue that inflames the public mind.

But after the murder, the police had to prove that they were enforcing the law. They had to find a victim and fast, to still the public clamour. This is standard operating procedure.

EVERY TIME a bomb explodes, all the members of the minority community in the vicinity are rounded up. After the police have proved they are working on the case, the minority members are released. The police then begin to look for the real perpetrators. By this time, the issue is dead in the public mind.

Aharoni had plenty of precedents to believe that he was only doing what plenty of others had done. During the Knesset elections, hundreds, perhaps thousands of persons, disrupted election rallies, promising to beat up the participants. Very little was done by the police. And there is the little matter of Shimon Peres' appearance — or rather failure to make a speech — at Kiryat Shmona several months ago.

Thus, Aharoni has every reason to believe that he also should be walking the streets today without a police record, as thousands upon thousands of others are doing. For they also committed, are committing, or will commit similar offences.

Everywhere one can see evidence of people blithely ignoring the law. Hundreds of illegal buildings are erected under the public's eye; few demolition orders are implemented.

And when one was, indeed, implemented aginst the Yehoshua family last December, a member of that family thought nothing about opening fire on a policeman who fired back. Unfortunately, someone was killed. The victim of the police bullet was also a victim of a failure. The present system of law and order functions only in dire emergencies.

PERHAPS it was stupid of the authorities — as this writer believes it was — to issue back-to-work orders to striking doctors. It is generally known that the doctors would not let their patients be victimized by their strike, although they may suffer a bit for a good cause — higher pay for the doctors. But once issued, these orders should have been enforced.

Instead a "deal" was made between the doctors and the authorities. Such a deal was inevitable, for the authorities realized that implementing the back-to-work orders would play into the doctors' hands.

Traffic violations are rampant. But the police, even when they catch a violator, more often than not prefer giving a lecture — "your wreckless driving habits can kill a person" — instead of doing their duty, enforcing the law. Parking on the pavements is a calculated risk; the law is enforced so rarely that even occasionally paying a fine is cheaper than paying for a parking space in a regulated parking area.

A group of semi-fanatics no doubt calculating that if caught, punishment would be light, recently tried to invade the Temple Mount. In any event, punishment would be compensated for by becoming heroes to a certain segment of the population. It is interesting to see whether their punishment will be as heavy as that of Aharoni — whether political pressure will be brought to bear on the legal process.

Yet, had this group of calculating zealots succeeded, the consequences for Israel would have been a thousand-fold more serious than the "crime" that Aharoni committed. These zealots could have easily ignited a Moslem religious riot.

BREAKING the law for a political or religious cause has become a deeply ingrained feature of Israeli society, and the society's attitude to it is becoming increasingly lenient.

Any person or group can get away with almost anything, sometimes even if damage is done. A show of contriteness — and lawbreakers sometimes are honestly contrite, is often sufficient to stay the arm of the law. Or if the law is implemented, the nishment is only a warning rap on the knuckles.

All this tends to encourage the disturbers of the peace. They believe that the authorities, by their very benevolent attitude to lawbreaking, to actual violence, show their sympathy with the lawbreakers.

A "permissive society" has been created, but not in the usual sense. This permissiveness will, in the long run, be more destructive than the death of one person — regrettable as it is — killed by a hand grenade. For the next explosion may not be of a grenade, but of a mob running loose in the streets, destroying everything in sight.

Nothing written here should be taken as a suggestion that freedom of speech should be bridled. One tempers should be bridled, and freedom of speech should not be aimed at igniting anyone's emotion or temper, only at kindling person's intellect, to convince him that there may be viewpoints other than his own.

*The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.*

## Dry Bones




## READERS' LETTERS

### YOUTH ALIYA'S ANNIVERSARY

*To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post*

Sir, — If Youth Aliya celebrated its 50th anniversary in January 1983, it was a year too soon. The official date is February 19, 1984, which will commemorate the arrival in 1934 of the first Youth Aliya group at Haifa for settlement in Ein Harod. 1983 is also a year late for the celebration of Recha Freier's "idea, a great and uplifting Zionist concept which she willed and worked into being." This passage occurs in every one of the many histories and reports on Youth Aliya written by the undersigned as well as in the countless tributes by Henrietta Szold to "the founder of Youth Aliya."

But what about history in the making? From February to May 1944, the Yishuv celebrated Youth Aliya's 10th anniversary when the movement received international press coverage. Elementary research would have also disclosed succeeding and appropriately dated anniversaries. To name a few: Youth Aliya's semi-jubilee in 1959 attended by such notables as Eleanor Roosevelt, Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians, the Earl of Balfour and including a study tour by representatives of 13 countries on the Executive of the International Union of Child Welfare.

A specialists' seminar in group care in June 1969 marked Youth Aliya's 35th anniversary followed by special events in the following five year intervals.

Anniversaries celebrate events, not ideas nor preliminaries. Theodor Herzl electrified the Jewish world with the publication of *Der Judenstaat* in 1896. But who dates the birth of Israel from the first World Zionist Congress or the UN Partition Resolution? On May 15, 1948, it all came together with Israel's Declaration of Independence. On a much smaller scale, all the ideas and organizational steps for Youth Aliya came to fruition on February 19, 1934.

But why all this emphasis on dates? My concern and that, I hope, of thousands of Youth Aliya graduates and *madrichim* stem from the apparent intent to relegate Miss Szold to the status of a mere functionary who "counted out certificates, balanced budgets and had good relations with the British," as reflected in the interview with Mrs. Freier of January 28. What a travesty of justice to the woman who, for its first decade, stood at the helm. Her unique gifts as educator, administrator, social worker and humanitarian made Youth Aliya an unparalleled instrument for rescue and rehabilitation.

*MARIAN G. GREENBERG,*
*First Chairman of National Youth Aliya*
*Committee of Hadassah 1936-40.*
Amherst, Mass.

It was the decision of Youth Aliya's current executive to mark its 50th anniversary *this* year with a number of public functions which began with a reception on January 30 by President Yitzhak Navon for Youth Aliya graduates. The interview with Recha Freier clearly stressed the vital role which both these two extraordinary women — Recha Freier and Henrietta Szold — had in the development of Youth Aliya. Moreover, a subsequent article (February 7) by former Youth Aliya chairman Moshe Kol paid special tribute to the specific role both Hadassah and Miss Szold had in Youth Aliya. Henrietta Szold's activities on behalf of Youth Aliya are also the theme of the cover and of a two-page picture spread and story by photojournalist Nahum (Tim) Gidal in *The Jerusalem Post's* Friday Magazine of March 11. — *Ed. J.P.*

### PENFRIENDS

**WILLIAM PETER COLSTICK (39),** of The Fountain Inn, Plumpton, Nr. Lewes, Sussex, England, would like to correspond with Israeli women.

**DORITH SEGER (18),** of P.O.B. 101531, 28 Bremen 1, West Germany, would like to correspond with young Israelis in order to learn more about our country.

### HEADLINE RESENTED

*To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post*

Sir, — I wish to address myself to a front-page story you carried on March 9 entitled "Settlers enter refugee camp, threaten to eject residents." In my opinion this is a case of a serious lapse of editorial responsibility. This is borne out by the following:

1. The headline differs substantially from the information in the body of the article in that, while the headline is decisive and reads as a statement, the information contained therein is defined as "according to local sources" and less than absolutely factual.

2. The military sources contacted could not confirm the story. But they could not deny it either. Yet an editor saw fit to ignore the element of doubt in phrasing his headline.

3. The reporter was not identified. We do not know who he is, and whether he has been reliable in the past.

4. If the reporter relied on "local sources" from Kalandiya, could he not be expected of him to inquire at nearby Jewish settlements and obtain their reaction?

*YISRAEL MEDAD*
Shiloh.

The story was written by David Richardson. His byline did not appear for editorial/stylistic reasons.

The reporter tried to reach people at Ofra who represent the Council for Jewish Settlements and Cities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza (Yisrael Har'el and the spokeswoman "Shifra"). There was no reply from either perhaps because of faulty telephone lines which affected much of the area at the time.

Reporters are not responsible for the headlines given their reports. *Ed. J.P.*


LEGAL NOTICE

Supreme Court, County of Erie, State of New York, United States of America. In the Matter of the Application of Chaya Miron for Dissolution of Her Marriage With Avraham Miron.

TO: AVRAHAM MIRON:

TAKE NOTICE that a Petition has been presented to this Court by Chaya Miron, your wife, for the dissolution of your marriage on the ground that you have absented yourself for five (5) successive years last passed, without being known to her to be living, and that she believes you to be dead That pursuant to an Order of this Court, entered the 3rd day of March, 1983, a hearing will be had upon said Petition at the Supreme Court, located at the Erie County Courthouse, in the City of Buffalo, County of Erie, State of New York, United States of America, on the 21st day of June, 1983, at 9.30 o'clock in the forenoon of that day.

The Economist

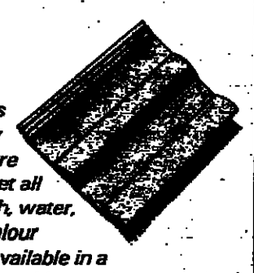
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